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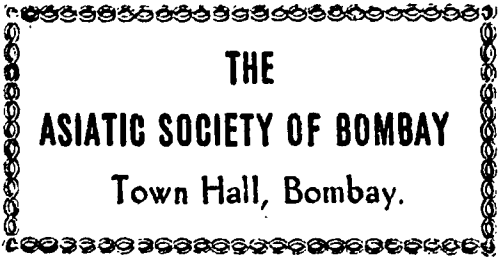

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THE

HISTORY

OF

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ANCIENT GREECE,

ITS COLONIES, AND CONQUESTS;

From the Earliest Accounts till the

Division of the Macedonian Empire in the East.

INCLUDING THE HISTORY OF

LITERATURE, PHILOSOPHY, AND THE FINE ARTS.

By JOHN GILLIES, LL.D. F.R.S. & A.S.

Εκ μεν τοιγε της ἁπαντων προς αλληλα συμπλοκης και παραθεσεως, ετι δε ὁμοιοτητος και διαφορας, μονως αν τις εφικοιτο και και δυνηθειη κατοπτευσας, ἁμα και το χρησιμον και το τερπνον εκ της ἱςοριας λαβειν. POLYBIUS, l. i. c. v.

THE THIRD EDITION,

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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TO THE

KING.

SIR,

THE Hiſtory of Greece expoſes the dangerous turbulence of Democracy, and arraigns the deſpotiſm of Tyrants. By deſcribing the incurable evils inherent in every form of Republican policy, it evinces the ineſtimable benefits, reſulting to Liberty itſelf, from the lawful dominion of hereditary Kings, and the ſteady operation of well-regulated Monarchy. With ſingular propriety, therefore, the preſent Work may be reſpectfully offered to Your MAJESTY, as Sovereign of the freeſt nation upon earth; and *that* Sovereign, through whoſe diſcerning munifi-

cence, the intereſt of thoſe liberal arts, which diſtinguiſhed and ennobled Greece beyond all other countries of antiquity, has been more ſucceſsfully promoted in Your MAJESTY's dominions, than during any former period in the Britiſh annals. That your MAJESTY may long reign the illuſtrious Guardian of public freedom, and the unrivalled Patron of uſeful learning, is the fervent prayer of

YOUR MAJESTY's

Moſt dutiful Subject and Servant,

LONDON,
Feb. 10, 1786.

JOHN GILLIES.

PREFACE.

THE following Hiſtory commences with the infancy of Greece, and deſcribes its gradual advancement towards civilization and power. But the main deſign of my Work is confined to the ſpace of ſeven centuries, which elapſed from the ſettlement of the Ionians in Aſia Minor till the eſtabliſhment of the Macedonian empire in the Eaſt; during which memorable period, the arts and arms of the Greeks, conſpiring to excite the admiration and terror of the ancient world, juſtly merit the attentive ſtudy of the preſent age, and poſterity. In the general revolutions of their national confederacy, which, though always looſe and imperfect, was never altogether diſſolved, I have interwoven the deſcription and principal tranſactions of each independent republic, however ſmall or inconſiderable; and, by comparing authors ſeldom read, and not frequently conſulted for hiſtorical materials, have endeavoured to trace the intricate ſeries, and to explain the ſecret connection, of ſeemingly detached events, in order to reduce the ſcattered members of Grecian ſtory into one perpetual unbroken narrative; a deſign,

difficult indeed, and new, yet evidently well calculated to promote the great purpoſes of pleaſure and utility.

In the view which I have taken of my ſubject, the fluctuation of public affairs, and the viciſſitudes of war and fortune, appear ſcarcely the moſt ſplendid, and ſurely not the moſt intereſting, portion of Grecian hiſtory. By genius and fancy, not leſs than by patriotiſm and proweſs, the Greeks are honourably diſtinguiſhed among the nations of the earth. By the Greeks, and by them alone, Literature, Philoſophy, and the Fine Arts, were treated as important concerns of ſtate, and employed as powerful engines of policy. From their literary glory, not only their civil, but even their military tranſactions, derive their chief importance and dignity. To complete, therefore, my preſent undertaking, it ſeemed neceſſary to unite the hiſtory of arts with that of empire, and to combine with the external revolutions of war and government, the intellectual improvements of men, and the ever-varying picture of human opinions and manners.

In the execution of this extenſive plan, might I aſſume any merit to myſelf, it would be that of having diligently ſtudied the Greek writers, without adopting their prejudices, or copying their narratives with ſervility. Many events, highly intereſting to the citizens of Athens or of Sparta, now intereſt no more; concerning many important tranſactions, anciently too familiar to be explained, the Modern Reader will reaſonably expect

expect information. On ſome occaſions, therefore, I found it neceſſary to concentrate and abridge; on others, to dilate and expatiate; but have never ſacrificed that due relation of parts to the whole, and to each other, or violated that unity of deſign which I was ambitious to attain in the preſent Hiſtory, by condeſcending to copy or tranſlate. In the Work throughout, I have ventured to think for myſelf; and my opinions, whether well or ill founded, are, at leaſt, my own.

The preſent Hiſtory was undertaken, and a conſiderable part of it written, many years ago; by the advice of ſome perſons of taſte and learning, who, having read my hiſtorical Introduction to the Orations of Lyſias and Iſocrates, wiſhed to ſee the whole ſeries of Grecian ſtory treated on the ſame plan. My ſituation, and my leiſure, enabled me to meet their wiſh; but before my manuſcript was prepared for the Preſs, my ſtudies were interrupted by the only employment, not enjoined by ſome poſitive duty, which I ſhould have *allowed* (ſuch are the ſanguine hopes of authors!) to ſuſpend my literary labours. During that long interval, different portions of Grecian hiſtory have been ably treated in Engliſh, as well as in * foreign languages.

Among the foreign works, I diſtinguiſh with pleaſure thoſe of Mr. Meiners of Gottingen. To the author of this Hiſtory it would be very flattering to find the opinions which he hazarded in his introduction to Lyſias, confirmed in a ſubſequent work of ſuch an admired ſcholar as Mr. Meiners (ſee his Geſchichte des Luxus der Athenienſer, Lemgo 1782), were it not extremely natural that writers,

languages. Yet, as moſt of thoſe works ſtill remain incomplete, and as none of them embrace the whole extent of my ſubject, or at all preoccupy my plan; I venture to offer the preſent Hiſtory, deeply ſenſible as I am of its imperfections, to the indulgence of the Public.

writers, who draw from the ſame ſources, ſhould advance the ſame facts, and deduce ſimilar concluſions. In the following Hiſtory, my views of the *Pythagorean band*, and of the *Platonic philoſophy*, though ſufficiently remote from vulgar opinion, nearly coincide with thoſe of Mr. Meiners in his Geſchichte des Urſprungs, Fortgangs, and Verfalls der Wiſſenchafften in Griechenland; that is, "the Hiſtory of the Origin, Progreſs, and Decay of Philoſophy "in Greece:" a work not yet completed, but which, as far as it extends, will venture to recommend as one of the moſt valuable and accurate treaſuries of Greek learning contained in any modern tongue.

ADVERTISEMENT

TO THIS

THIRD EDITION.

IN preſenting this New Edition to the Public, I avail myſelf of the opportunity to inform my readers, that I have continued, during many years, diligently to proſecute the ſequel of Grecian Hiſtory; which, from the time of Alexander, ſwells into a larger ſtream, finally involving in its courſe all the great nations of antiquity, diſtinguiſhed by arts or arms.

My deſire of reducing a variety of important facts, of which the relations have hitherto appeared in the form of detached annals, into one clear and unbroken narrative; the new materials afforded in the deſcriptions of modern travellers, compared with the accounts of ancient authors, for

explaining, in a manner more ſatisfactory than has hitherto been attempted, the cauſes which produced the revolutions, and decided the fortune of the great kingdoms of Egypt, Macedon, and the Eaſt; above all, my ambition of adapting to a larger ſcale of hiſtory, the plan propoſed in the Preface to the preſent work, by combining two diſtinct but not independant objects, the progreſs of inventions and opinions, with the conſequent ſeries of tranſactions and events, and thereby rendering the ſpectacle of the ancient world a ſcene of deep intereſt to the modern; theſe cauſes have conſpired to retard, and will probably long prevent, the completion of my labours. Meanwhile, I voluntarily ſubjected myſelf to a temporary delay, at the deſire of ſeveral of my readers in thoſe countries whoſe ſituation, actual or apprehended, gives additional importance to reſearches into ancient hiſtory. They were pleaſed to think, that my time might be uſefully employed in adding a new volume to my Hiſtory, comprehending an examination of the domeſtic arrangements of the free ſtates of antiquity, with a view to ſolve, on general and ſcientific principles, the great queſtions that now agitate the world. Although I well knew that, in making ſuch compariſons, the multitude even of thoſe called the learned, ſtruck by contingent and ſuperficial *differences*, had long ſhut their eyes to intrinſic and eſſential *agreements*, I began to prepare myſelf with alacrity for the taſk, by a

careful

careful ſtudy of all thoſe remains of antiquity that in any manner related to my ſubject. Among theſe, I could not fail, after repeated peruſals, to diſtinguiſh, with juſt preference, the political works of Ariſtotle; which, though the original text is extremely corrupt, and though ſcarcely a page of them has ever been agreeably, or even intelligibly tranſlated, will be found to contain a ſolid and ſatisfactory explanation of every thing eſſential to the œconomy and government of free ſtates, (not excepting ſuch doctrines and arrangements as are ignorantly deemed modern diſcoveries,) founded on the unalterable principles of human nature, deduced, by that great maſter of reaſon, from a complete analyſis of upwards of two hundred Grecian and other republics, many of which had ſubſiſted for ſeven or eight centuries; a range of experience as far exceeding any thing that modern hiſtory preſents, as the impreſſive energy of Ariſtotle's ſtyle, and the comprehenſive accuracy of his method, ſurpaſs whatever modern philoſophy has produced. Inſtead of undertaking the taſk propoſed, (for could the illuſion of vanity ſuggeſt that *my* feeble voice ſhould be heard amidſt the clamour of contending factions?) I have contented myſelf with tranſlating perſpicuouſly the political works of Ariſtotle; in which the reader will find ſolutions of the great queſtions of the preſent day. The work will ſoon go to preſs; and, I hope, will anſwer the purpoſe

poſe of a man who has reached that period of life, when it ſhould ſeem more deſirable, eſpecially in times like the preſent, to deſerve public gratitude, than to excite public admiration.

I well know that it is a queſtion with many, whether ſociety be benefited by turning the attention of the people at large to politics; for a book, in whatever form it originally appears, now circulates, by the activity of the preſs, to every claſs of the people, through innumerable channels. But when the evil (if it be one) is already done, and the public mind is engaged and engroſſed by political ſubjects alone, there cannot remain a doubt, that ſociety will be benefited by ſubſtituting correct and ſalutary notions, in the ſtead of dangerous and abſurd ones.

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THE

MOESIA SUPERIOR
ILLYRIS
THRACIA
MACEDONIA
PONTUS EUXINUS
PAPHLAGONIA
GALATIA
CAPPADOCIA
LYCAONIA
PISIDIA
PAMPHYLIA
CYPRUS
SICILIA
IONIUM MARE
MARE INTERNUM
PALÆSTINA
JUDÆA
MAP I
Containing the
WESTERN DIVISION
of the
GRECIAN COLONIES
& CONQUESTS.

THE

HISTORY

OF

ANCIENT GREECE.

CHAP. I.

View of the Progreſs of Civilization and Power in Greece, preceding the Trojan War.—Hiſtory of that War.—Its Conſequences.

CHAP. I. Introduction.

IN the infancy of ſociety, men are occupied with the buſineſs of the preſent hour, forgetful of the paſt, and careleſs of the future. They have neither ability nor inclination to contemplate their public tranſactions in the impartial light of hiſtory, far leſs to treaſure and to record them. Their recent victories over hoſtile tribes are celebrated in the artleſs ſong [1], or commemorated by the rude monument; but to preſerve any regular ſeries of connected events, is a deſign, which they enjoy not the means to execute, ſcarcely the capacity to comprehend.

[1] Tacit. Annal. l. iv. c. 43.

CHAP. I.

Their ſimple and obſcure adventures, which thus paſs unremembered by themſelves, rarely excite the inquiſitive curioſity of their more cultivated neighbours. In remote ages of the world, one people became an object of attention to another, only as they became conſiderable; for until the full maturity of Grecian refinement, the moſt poliſhed nations of antiquity attempted not to inveſtigate the nature and powers of man in the untutored efforts of ſavage life. The daring ſpirit, and fierce incurſions, of the Barbarians in the eaſt of Europe, excited terror and conſternation among the more civilized and more effeminate inhabitants of Leſſer Aſia [a]; but the luxurious pride of the latter never condeſcended to examine the origin and hiſtory of the people who were occaſionally the object of their fears. The only circumſtantial information concerning both the Aſiatics and the Europeans, muſt be derived from the early hiſtorians of Greece; and when we reflect on the innumerable cauſes which conſpire to bury in oblivion the exploits of riſing communities, there is reaſon to wonder that we ſhould know ſo much concerning the ancient ſtate of that country, rather than to regret that our knowledge is imperfect.

It muſt be allowed, however, that our materials for the firſt portion of Grecian hiſtory, are rather

[a] The Lydians, Phrygians, &c. Hiſtory and Fable atteſt the early civilization, the wealth, and wickedneſs, of thoſe nations. See particularly Herodotus, l. i. c. 93. & ſeq. and Strabo, l. xi. p. 532. & ſeq. and l. xii. & xiii. p. 572.

copious

copious than conſiſtent[3]. The ſubject, indeed, is ſuch, as a very cautious writer would chooſe entirely to avoid, ſince, whatever authorities he follows, CHAP. I.

3 It is ſufficient to read Thucydides's introduction to his admired hiſtory of the Peloponneſian war, to perceive how little correct information could be obtained by that diligent inquirer into the antiquities of his country. If we admit the common chronology, there is reaſon to believe that the ſcattered fragments of Grecian hiſtory were preſerved during thirteen centuries by oral tradition. The tales or rhapſodies of the ἀοιδοὶ, or bards, were ſucceeded by thoſe of the Cyclic poets, of whom an account is given in Caſaubon ad Athenæum, l. vii. c. 4. Salmaſ. in Solin. & Schwarzius Altdorf in Diſſ. de Poetis Cyclicis. Compoſition in proſe began with the uſe of alphabetic writing about ſix centuries before Chriſt. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l. v. c. 29. The firſt proſe writers, or more properly the firſt *writers*, were Pherecydes of Syros; Acuſilaus of Argos; Hellanicus of Leſbos; Hecatæus and Dionyſius, both of Miletus; the laſt of whom flouriſhed in the 65th Olymp. 520 B. C. and immediately preceded Herodotus. From the work of Herodotus, which forms, as it were, the ſhade between Epic Poetry and Hiſtory, we may judge of the writings of his predeceſſors; from whom, together with the Cyclic poets, Anaximenes of Lampſacus, who lived in the time of Alexander the Great, and Diodorus Siculus, who lived in the time of Julius Cæſar, compiled the firſt books of their very extenſive but inaccurate collections. Apollodorus, Hyginus (and many others, whoſe works are now loſt), combined the more ancient records, whether in proſe or verſe, with the additions and embelliſhments of the lyric and tragic poets. When the Greek learning became known to the Romans, this compound of hiſtory and fable furniſhed the ſubject and the incidents of innumerable tragedies to Ennius, Accius, Livius Andronicus, &c. After the downfal of Rome, learning took refuge in the eaſtern world. The antiquities and early hiſtory of Greece again became objects of ſtudy among the natives of that country; but the heterogeneous maſs of truth and fiction was rather amalgamated, than purified, by Malala, Cedrenus, Tzetza, Conſtantinus Menaſſes, and other Greeks of the middle ages. See Heine, Not. ad Æneid. II. and Voſſius de Hiſtoric. Græcis. With few exceptions, the Greek writers may be pronounced extremely careleſs in matters of chronology. Herodotus, who has been emphatically ſtyled the father of profane hiſtory, commonly

CHAP. I.

lows, his narrative muſt, in ſome parts, be liable to objection[4]. Yet it ſeems eſſential to the integrity of the preſent work, to explain from what aſſemblage of nations the Greeks were formed, and by what fortunate ſteps they arrived, from feeble beginnings, to that condition of manners and ſociety in which they are deſcribed by Homer; whoſe immortal poems, like a meteor in the gloom of night, brighten the obſcure antiquities of his country.

First inhabitants of Greece.

The traditions of the Greeks agree with the authentic records of ſacred hiſtory, in repreſenting the countries afterwards known by the names of Thrace, Macedon, and Greece, as peopled at an earlier period than any other portion of the weſtern world. The ſouthern corner of Europe, comprehended between the thirty-ſixth and forty-firſt

commonly reckons by the ages of men. The accurate hiſtories of Thucydides and Xenophon, where the time of each event is preciſely aſcertained, comprehend no more than a period of ſeventy years. Even in their time chronology ſeems not to have been cultivated as a ſcience, ſince the firſt ſpecimen of that kind is ſaid to have been given by Demetrius Phalereus, in his αρχοντων αναγραφη, about the middle of the fourth century before Chriſt. The labours of Demetrius were corrected and extended by Philocorus in his Ατθις. The hiſtorian Timæus, who flouriſhed in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, firſt arranged his narrative in the order of Olympiads, which began 776 B. C. His contemporary Soſibius gave a work, intitled χρονων αναγραφη; Apollodorus wrote the συνταξις χρονικη; and on ſuch chronologers reſts the credit of all later compilers, as well as of the Arundelian marbles, which were compoſed only 264 years before Chriſt.

4 What Strabo (l. ix.) ſays of the firſt hiſtorians of Attica, "that they differed widely from each other (πολλα διαφωνουντες)," may be applied to all profane hiſtories of thoſe early times.

degrees

CHAP. I.

degrees of latitude, bordering on Epirus and Macedonia towards the north, and on other ſides ſurrounded by the ſea, was inhabited, above eighteen centuries before the Chriſtian æra, by many ſmall tribes of hunters and ſhepherds, among whom the Pelaſgi and Hellenes were the moſt numerous and powerful [5]. The barbarous Pelaſgi venerated Inachus, as their founder; and for a ſimilar reaſon, the more humane Hellenes reſpected Deucalion. From his ſon Hellen, they derived their general appellation, which originally denoted a ſmall tribe in Theſſaly [6]; and from Dorus, Eolus, and Ion [7], his more remote deſcendants, they were diſcriminated by the names of Dorians, Eolians, and Ionians [8]. The Dorians took poſſeſſion of that mountainous diſtrict of Greece, afterwards called Doris; the Ionians, whoſe name was gradually loſt in the more illuſtrious appellation of Athenians, ſettled in the leſs barren parts of Attica; and the Eolians peopled Elis and Arcadia, the weſtern and inland regions of the Peloponneſus [9]. Notwithſtanding many partial emigrations, theſe three original [10] diviſions of the Hellenes generally entertained an affection for the eſtabliſhments which had been preferred by the wiſdom or caprice of their reſpective anceſtors; a circumſtance which remarkably diſtinguiſhed the *Hellenic*, from the *Pelaſgic*

The Pelaſgi and Hellenes.

The latter divided into Dorians, Eolians, and Ionians.

5 Marm. Oxon. epoch. 6. Apollodor. Biblioth. l. ii.
6 Thucydid. l. i. c. 28. 7 Strabo, l. viii. p. 383.
8 Herodot. l. i. c. 56. and l. vii. c. 94.
9 Diodor. Siculus, l. v.
10 Heraclid. Pont. apud Athenæum, l. xiv.

CHAP. I.

race. While the former diſcovered a degree of attachment to their native land, ſeldom found in barbarians who live by hunting or paſturage, the latter diſdaining fixed habitations, wandered in large bodies over Greece, or tranſported themſelves into the neighbouring iſlands; and the moſt conſiderable portion of them gradually removing to the coaſts of Italy and Thrace, the remainder melted away into the Doric and Ionic tribes. At the diſtance of twelve centuries, obſcure traces of the Pelaſgi occurred in ſeveral Grecian cities; a diſtrict of Theſſaly always retained their name; their colonies continued, in the fifth century before Chriſt, to inhabit the ſouthern coaſt of Italy, and the ſhores of the Helleſpont: and in thoſe widely ſeparated countries, their ancient affinity was recogniſed in the uniformity of their rude dialect and barbarous manners, extremely diſſimilar to the cuſtoms and language of their Grecian neighbours [11].

Colonies from Egypt and the Eaſt.

Greece, when delivered from the turbulence of a rugged race of men, who never attained much conſideration, either in the territories where they originally dwelt, or in thoſe to which they afterwards removed, was not left to be ſlowly civilized by the progreſſive ingenuity of the Hellenic tribes. The happy poſition of a country, which, forming as it were the frontier of Europe with Aſia, is divided only by a narrow extent of ſea from Egypt and Syria, and ſituate within reach of thoſe

[11] Herodot. l. i. Dionyſ. Halicarn. l. i. Pauſan. l. viii.

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parts of the Eaſt which were anciently moſt flouriſhing and populous, naturally invited the viſits of travellers, and attracted the eſtabliſhment of colonies. Theſe tranſient viſits, or temporary ſettlements, were marked by many ſignal benefits, the memory of which was long preſerved by the gratitude of Greece, and their merit probably exaggerated by her fondneſs for panegyric. Even thoſe Grecian communities, which juſtly claimed the honour of ſuperior antiquity, acknowledged themſelves indebted to ſtrangers for the moſt important diſcoveries, not only in religion, but in agriculture and the arts; and contented themſelves with the glory of having diffuſed a borrowed light over the melancholy gloom of ignorance which overſpread their neighbours [12]. But national vanity at length produced a material change in the tradition. When the refined deſcendants of the rude Greeks viewed with complacence their own ſuperiority in arts and arms to all the nations around them, they began to ſuſpect that the Gods alone were worthy to have reared the infancy of a people, who eminently excelled the reſt of mankind. To the Gods they transferred the merit of the many uſeful inventions communicated by the generous humanity of their ancient viſitants; an oſtentatious fiction coloured by a faint ſemblance of truth, ſince the worſhip of ſeveral divinities was introduced at the ſame time, and by the ſame perſons [13],

[12] Iſocrat. Panegyr. paſſim.

[13] The Tytans, Idæi Dactyli, Triptolemus, &c. Compare Diodor. Sicul. l. v. and Iſocrat. Panegyr.

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who made known the arts moſt ſubſervient to the purpoſes of human life [14].

New colonies from the ſame countries.

While fable thus diſguiſed the benefits conferred by the firſt tranſitory voyages into Greece, hiſtory preſerved the memory of four permanent eſtabliſhments formed ſucceſſively in that country by foreigners. From the middle of the ſixteenth, to the middle of the fourteenth century before Chriſt, an inundation of Egyptians, Phenicians, and Phrygians overflowed the Hellenic coaſts. The cauſes aſſigned for theſe emigrations are extremely conſonant to the manners of remote antiquity, as deſcribed by ſacred and profane authors: hatred of a rival, impatience of a ſuperior, in one inſtance the perſecution of a brother and an enemy, and, in general, "that uneaſy reſtleſſneſs of diſpoſition, which univerſally prevails among men, who have become ſenſible of their own powers, without having ſufficiently learned to direct them to the happy purſuits of arts and induſtry [15]. The principal colonies were conducted by Cecrops [16], and Danaus, Egyptians,

A.C. 1556. who reſpectively ſettled in Athens and Argos;

1485. 1493. Cadmus [17], a Phenician, who founded Thebes in

1350. Bœotia, and Pelops, a Phrygian [18], whoſe deſcendants, intermarrying with thoſe of Danaus, king of Argos, and Tyndareus, king of Lacedæmon or Sparta, acquired in the perſon of Aga-

14 Diodor. Sicul. l. v. Iſocrat. Panegyr.

15 Iſocrat. Hellen. ſub initio. Pind. Olymp. 1.

16 Strabo, l. ix. and Plut. in Theſeo.

17 Strabo, ibid. and Iſocrat. Hellen.

18 Iſocrat. Panathen. Thucydid. l. i. Diodor. l. iv.

memnon,

memnon, ſo powerful an aſcendant in the Peloponneſus [19]. The family of Deucalion ſtill reigned in Theſſaly; but Thebes, Athens, Argos, and Sparta, which were long regarded as the principal cities of Greece, thus fell under the dominion of four foreign lines of princes, whoſe exploits, and glory, and misfortunes, are immortalized by the firſt and nobleſt productions of Grecian genius [20]. CHAP. I.

Improvements introduced by theſe colonies into Greece.

The countries, which theſe adventurers abandoned, had not, according to modern ideas, attained a very high degree of maturity in laws and government. Yet it cannot be doubted, that the natives of Egypt and the Eaſt were acquainted with many improvements unknown to the Hellenic tribes. Conjectures are not to be placed in the rank of facts; yet, in matters ſo ancient and obſcure, we may be allowed to conjecture from the only facts on record, that the invaders of Greece introduced into that country the knowledge of the Phenician alphabet; improved the practice of agriculture; multiplied the rites of religion; diſcovered to the Greeks ſeveral uſes of the metals; but, on the other hand, gradually adopted, in their turn,

[19] Thucyd. l. i. Diodor. l. iv. Iſocrat. Panathen.

[20] The works of Homer and Pindar, and the writings of the Greek tragedians. In theſe, and ſcarcely any where elſe, the ſtories of Cadmus, Semele, Bacchus, Amphitryon, Hercules, Oedipus, &c. may be read with pleaſure and advantage; for as Strabo, l. ix. ſays, "All there is monſtrous and tragic land."

the

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the Grecian language, and generally conformed to the Grecian cuſtoms and inſtitutions [21].

The Phenician alphabet.

The introduction of the Phenician alphabet was an improvement too delicate and refined to be immediately attended with any important conſequences. The groſs underſtandings of the Hellenes could not eaſily comprehend the utility of ſuch an ingenious invention. The knowledge of it was acquired and preſerved by a few individuals [22] of more enlightened minds: but the far greater part of the nation long contented themſelves with the ancient mode of picture-writing, which, however limited in its application, ſeemed ſufficient to expreſs the ſimplicity of their rude ideas.

Several uſes of the metals.

The Phenicians were well acquainted with the precious metals as the medium of exchange. But the uniform tranſactions of the Greeks, as yet required not any ſuch nicety of refinement. Even during the Trojan war, cattle, being the com-

[21] Compare Herodotus, l. v. c. 59. l. vii. paſſim. Montfaucon, Palæograph. Græc. l. 2. Plin. l. v. c. 56 & 57. Hyginus, Fab. 274. and Ephorus apud Diodor. l. v.

[22] Herodotus mentions three inſcriptions on three tripods, conſecrated in the temple of Iſmenian Apollo. The firſt, of Amphitryon; the ſecond, of the ſon of Hippocoon; the third, of Laodamus the ſon of Eteocles. The inſcriptions on the ſhields of the heroes who beſieged the capital of Eteocles, are noticed by Æſchylus, in his tragedy intitled, "The Seven againſt Thebes." Yet we know from Homer, Iliad vi. that when Prætus ſent Bellerophon to the king of Lycia, he gave him, not a written letter, but σηματα λυγρα, mournful ſigns. Writing could not be common till many centuries afterwards, ſince the firſt written laws were given in Greece only ſix centuries before Chriſt. Herodot. l. ii. Strabo, l. vi.

modity

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modity of moſt general demand, was univerſally regarded as the moſt convenient meaſure of value[23]. It is not eaſy to determine whether gold or iron be more advantageous to man, the one by exciting his induſtry, the other by ſeconding that induſtry in all the variety of uſeful arts. The diſcovery of iron in Greece afforded the neceſſary implements of agriculture, the gradual extenſion of which alike improved the ſterility of the ſoil, and the rudeneſs of the inhabitants. Before the arrival of Egyptian colonies, the cultivation of the ground might occaſionally employ the divided induſtry of ſcattered families; but this valuable art was not conſidered

Extenſion of agriculture.

[23] In a well-known paſſage, Homer, after mentioning other articles with which the Greeks purchaſed wine, adds, αυτοισι βοεσσι, "with "oxen themſelves." Some ſcholiaſts and commentators have imagined, that the βες of Homer was a coin ſtamped with the figure of an ox, ſaid to have been introduced by Theſeus. Vid. Plut. in Theſeo. But were it allowed, which is very improbable, that Theſeus had a mint, it would ſtill be improbable that Homer meant ſuch a coin; for in the epiſode of Glaucus and Diomed, he ſays, that the former gave his golden armour, worth an hundred oxen, for the brazen armour of the latter, worth only nine. Now we know from Pollux Onomaſt. l. ix. c. 7. that the coin βες, at whatſoever time it was introduced, continued to be valued at two drachmas. Diomed's arms, therefore, upon the ſuppoſition of the ſcholiaſts, muſt have been worth about nine ſhillings; and Glaucus's, which were of maſſy gold, worth only nine pounds. Talents of gold are often mentioned by Homer. They were propoſed as prizes to combatants, and offered as dedications in temples, but too valuable to ſerve as current ſpecie. Homer and Herodot. paſſim. Νομισμα, money, is derived from νομος, law, becauſe, as Ariſtotle ſays, ου φυσει, αλλα νομω, εστι, "the origin of money is not natural, but conventional "and arbitrary." But in Homer's time, the word νομος was uſed in a quite different ſenſe; νομισμα muſt therefore have been derived from it at a later period. Com. Iliad. l. xx. v. 249. and Ariſtot. Ethic. Nicom. l. v. c. 5.

as

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as an object of general concern. Cecrops firſt engaged the wandering hunters or ſhepherds of Attica to unite in villages of huſbandmen. Corn, wine, and oil, rewarded their uſeful labours [24]; and theſe productions being acquired by common toil, were regarded, with the ground itſelf, as a common property [25].

Religious rites.

The idea of an excluſive and permanent right to all the uſes of a piece of land, whether belonging to communities or to individuals, is one of the moſt intereſting ſteps in the progreſs of ſociety. In Greece, this invaluable right was immediately followed by ſuch inſtitutions as tended to ſecure its enjoyment, and to check the injuſtice of man, who is ſeldom willing to acquire, by ſlow labour, what he can raviſh by ſudden violence. The ſalutary influence of religion was employed on this important occaſion. We are told by ſeveral writers, that the practice of agriculture, and the rites of religion, were introduced at the ſame time [26]. But the ſame authors inform us, that their pretended founders of religious worſhip aboliſhed the uſe of living ſacrifices [27]; a cuſtom, which evidently ſuppoſes the prior eſtabliſhment of an ancient and more bloody

24 Pauſan. l. iii. Æſchyl. Eumen.

25 The τεμενος, or *ent* of ground, ſo often mentioned in Homer, as beſtowed by general conſent on admired kings and chiefs, might have ſuggeſted this obſervation, which ſeems to have eſcaped notice, though attended, as we ſhall find, with very important conſequences.

26 Diodor. Pauſan. Apollod.

27 Θεους καρποις αγαλλειν, ζωα μη σιτεσθαι. Porph. de Abſtinent. iv. 22.

ſuper-

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ſuperſtition. Yet in this humane prohibition, we may perhaps diſcern a laudable attempt to correct the barbarity of the Greeks, and to raiſe the new occupation of agriculture above the ancient employment of hunting.

The Hellenes diffuſe their colonies and language over Greece;

Before and during the time that the Hellenic tribes received continual acceſſions of population from diſtant countries, they were no leſs diligent in ſending forth their own colonies. As they originally ſubſiſted by hunting, fiſhing, and paſturage, a large extent of territory was requiſite to ſupply them with the neceſſaries of life. They were not afflicted by the oppreſſive terrors of deſpotiſm; they were long unacquainted with the gentle, but powerful operation of regular government; and without being ſubject to the one or the other, it is ſcarcely poſſible for men to live together in large ſocieties. When any of their communities ſeemed inconveniently numerous, they divided it into ſeveral portions, of which the principal kept poſſeſſion of their original ſeats, while the others occupied and peopled the ſurrounding territories. It was thus that the Eolians diſperſed through many parts of the Peloponneſus; the unfortunate Siſyphus [28], who founded the city of Corinth, being a deſcendant of Eolus, and the anceſtors of the wiſe Neſtor, who reigned in ſandy Pylos, being ſprung from the ſame Eolic race [29]. A conſiderable diviſion of the Ionians ſettled along the ſouthern ſhores of the Corinthian gulph, in the province which,

[28] Και Σισυφον ισιδιον κρατερα αλγια ιχοντα. Homer Odyſſ.
[29] Pauſan. in Corinth. & Meſſen.

eighty

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eighty years after the Trojan war, changed the name of Ionia for that of Achaia [30]. The territory beyond the Corinthian iſthmus was parcelled out among innumerable ſubdiviſions of the Hellenic tribes [31]. When the continent of Greece ſeemed ſufficiently populous, the Athenians gave inhabitants to the iſle of Eubæa; and many centuries before the famous eſtabliſhments formed by the Greeks on the coaſts of Aſia Minor, of Italy, and of Thrace, the Dorians had ſent a colony to Crete [32], and the Eolians, under the conduct of Dardanus, had planted the eaſtern banks of the Helleſpont [33]. During the Trojan war, the inhabitants of thoſe various and widely ſeparated countries ſpoke the ſame language that was uſed among the Hellenes, and acknowledged the general influence of the ſame principles and manners. Unleſs it is ſuppoſed, therefore, that not only the Phrygians, but the Phenicians and Egyptians, originally ſpoke the ſame Hellenic tongue, it ſeems reaſonable to conjecture, that the colonies conducted by Cecrops, Cadmus, and Danaus, gradually adopted the language of the aborigines of Greece [34].

A ſingle

30 Strabo, l. vii. 31 Id. ibid. Pauſan. & Diodor.

32 Diodor. ibid. Strabo, l. vii. p. 496.

33 Servius in Æneid. III.

34 Herodotus, l. v. c. 58. ſays, that the colony of Cadmus changed their ſpeech, being ſurrounded by the Ionians, an Hellenic tribe. He ſays further, that, together with their language, they changed the power of ſome of their letters. He acknowledges that the Cadmeians, or Phenicians, communicated to the Ionians the uſe of letters; but the Ionians, he ſays, adapted the Phenician alphabet to the ſounds of their own language. The eaſtern tongues are in general

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together with their inſtitutions of government.

A ſingle reflection appears ſufficient to prove, that they likewiſe conformed to the Grecian inſtitutions of government. The inflexible rigour of deſpotiſm, which has in all ages prevailed in Egypt [35] and the Eaſt, was unknown to the conquerors of Troy. Since the abſolute power of kings was not acknowledged during a long period of war and danger, requiring the ſtricteſt military ſubordination; and ſince the Greeks preſerved their freedom, after the increaſing wealth of many centuries had a tendency to prepare them for ſervitude; it cannot reaſonably be ſuppoſed, that an Oriental ſyſtem of oppreſſion ſhould have prevailed in the more early ages of poverty and independence [36]

general extremely deficient in vowels. It is, or rather was, much diſputed whether the ancient Orientals uſed any characters to expreſs them. Their languages, therefore, muſt have had an inflexible thickneſs of ſound, extremely different from the vocal harmony of the Greek, which abounds not only in vowels but in diphthongs. This circumſtance denotes, in the Greeks, organs of perception more acute, elegant, and diſcerning. They felt ſuch faint variations of liquid ſounds, as eſcaped the dulneſs of Aſiatic ears, and invented marks to expreſs them. They diſtinguiſhed, in this manner, not only their articulation, but their quantity, and afterwards their muſical intonation, as ſhall be explained hereafter, in treating of the Grecian muſic and poetry.

35 The government of the Egyptians, as well as of the Aſiatics, is uniformly repreſented in Scripture as an abſolute monarchy. Herodotus and Diodorus mention ſome laws of the Egyptians, which ſeem to circumſcribe the power of their kings. But theſe laws, if well examined, will confirm the obſervation in the text. They were eſtabliſhed, not in favour of the nation at large, but of the prieſts and ſoldiers. The throne of Egypt was ſupported by the altar, and defended by the ſword; and what deſpotiſm can be upheld but by the ſame means?

36 See the principles eſtabliſhed by Tacitus de Mor. German.

The

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Happy ſituation of Greece for commerce.

The Phenicians being conſidered as the principal navigators and merchants of the ancient world, it is commonly believed that the example of the Phenician colonies firſt taught the Greeks to brave the dangers of the ſea, and to maintain a commercial intercourſe with each other, as well as with foreign nations. But it is ſufficient to throw a glance on the geography of Greece, to perceive how naturally commerce, without foreign aid, might have ariſen ſpontaneouſly in that highly-favoured country. The continent, *itſelf* waſhed on three ſides by the ſea, is ſurrounded by innumerable iſlands, abounding in excellent harbours. The variety of ſoils and productions is greater, perhaps, than in any other part of the world, of an equal extent. All the ſhores of the Mediterranean, comprehending the moſt beautiful, and anciently the moſt flouriſhing part of the earth, are more acceſſible to Greece than to any neighbouring country. Yet it appears from the light of hiſtory, that the Greeks did not early avail themſelves of their fortunate ſituation, or of the ſuppoſed leſſons of their Phenician inſtructors.

Circumſtances which retarded the progreſs of ſociety in Greece.

Face of the country.

Many circumſtances conſpired to prolong the infancy of their nation, and to retard, during ſeveral centuries, their improvement in commerce, as well as in agriculture, and the other uſeful arts. The ſurface of Greece is more indented by creeks and rivers, and more roughened by mountains and promontories, than that of any other part of Europe. Theſe natural diviſions kept the different communities in a ſtate of ſeparation and hoſtility.

lity. The ideas of their ancient conſanguinity and common origin were weakened or effaced by the perpetual conflux of foreigners. They could not travel beyond their own narrow diſtricts without being expoſed to the inſults of enemies. Theſe inſults excited reſentment; mutual injuries were offered and retorted; each city was at war with its neighbours: and the *ſmallneſs* of the Grecian ſtates, a circumſtance which, during the happy ages that form the ſubject of the preſent hiſtory, tended to break the force of cuſtom and opinion, and to encourage that noble emulation ſo favourable to the progreſs of virtue and ſcience, that produced, in leſs fortunate times, an effect of the moſt oppoſite nature, choked the ſeeds of order, and repreſſed the feeble ſhoots of arts and humanity.

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Smallneſs of the different ſtates.

The metals, originally deſtined to promote the peaceful labours of man, were converted into powerful inſtruments of deſtruction; and while the land was ravaged by the ſword, the ſea was covered with pirates. The Phenicians, the Carians, and the inhabitants of the Greek iſlands in general, conſidered navigation, not as the means of uniting nations by mutual intercourſe and commerce, but as a happy expedient for enabling the poor and the brave to plunder the rich territories of their leſs warlike neighbours. The coaſts of Greece, though in early times their bleak forbidding aſpect might have repelled the avarice of freebooters, yet on account of the proximity of their ſituation, and the valuable cargoes of hardy ſlaves in which they abounded, were continually infeſted

The coaſts ravaged by pirates.

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by naval depredations. The unfortified places near the ſhore ſurrendered without reſiſtance; the fruits of their painful induſtry were plundered or deſtroyed, and the moſt valuable portion of their inhabitants dragged into captivity. The practice of piracy and invaſion was not a temporary reſource of war, prompted by neceſſity, or a juſt revenge; it grew into an ordinary profeſſion, which was ſo far from being deemed diſhonourable, that it conferred much glory and renown on thoſe who exerciſed it with ſkill and bravery[37].

The inland country invaded by ſavages.

During this diſordered ſtate of ſociety, the arts of peace were almoſt entirely neglected, and Greece was ready to be plunged into the groſſeſt barbariſm, by its domeſtic diſſenſions. The irruptions of the Thracians, Amazons, and other northern ſavages, threatened to accelerate this melancholy event, and to complete the ruin of the unhappy Hellenes[38]. But it may be obſerved in the affairs of human life, that any extraordinary meaſure of good or evil commonly leads men to dread, or to expect, a ſudden revolution of fortune; a natural ſentiment which, though liable to be abuſed by credulity and ſuperſtition, is founded on the firm baſis of experience. The rudiments of the moſt uſeful deſigns are ſuggeſted always by neceſſity;

37 Thucydid. l. i. οἰς κοσμος καλως τουτο δρᾶν. The explanation in the text ſeems more conſonant to Grecian manners in thoſe ages, than that of the ſcholiaſt, which is tranſlated by Mr. Rochford, "Chez qui la piraterie étoit exercée avec une certaine probité." M. de l'Acad. v. 39.

38 Lyſias Orat. Funeb.

often by calamity. The inroads of the wild mountaineers of Thrace, and of other Barbarians more remote, whoſe deſtructive cruelty may be underſtood by the unexampled fury with which even the feeble ſex [39] carried on the ravages of war, occaſioned the firſt inſtitution which reſtored ſome degree of preſent tranquillity to Greece, and laid the foundation of its future grandeur.

Circumſtances which tended to civilize Greece.

The northern diſtricts of Theſſaly being peculiarly expoſed to invaſion, the petty princes of that province entered into a confederacy for their mutual defence [40]. They aſſembled in ſpring and autumn at Thermopylæ, a place afterwards ſo illuſtrious, and then governed by *Amphictyon*, a deſcendant of Deucalion, whoſe name is immortalized in the *Amphictyonic* council. The advantages which the confederates derived from this meaſure, were ſoon perceived by their neighbours. The central ſtates gradually acceded to their alliance; and, about the middle of the fourteenth century before Chriſt, Acriſius king of Argos, and other princes of the Peloponneſus, were allowed to ſhare the benefits and ſecurity of this uſeful aſſociation.

Origin of the Amphictyonic council.

Argonautic expedition, A.C.1263.

After this event, the Amphictyons appear to have long confined themſelves to the original pur-

[39] The Amazons. See Lyſias Orat. Funeb. and Herodotus paſſim. Yet the exiſtence of theſe warlike females was doubted as early as the days of the emperor Hadrian, as we learn from Arrian: but what is ſaid by that judicious and manly hiſtorian, ſeems ſufficient to diſpel the doubt. See Arrian Expedit. Alexand. l. vii. p. 156.

[40] Marm. Oxon. E. 5.

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poſe of their inſtitution. The ſtates, whoſe meaſures were directed by this aſſembly, found ſufficient occupation in defending their own territories; and near a century elapſed, before they undertook, by common conſent, any diſtant expedition. But it was not to be expected that their reſtleſs activity could be always exhauſted in defenſive war. The eſtabliſhment of the Amphictyons brought together the chiefs moſt diſtinguiſhed by birth and bravery. Glory and emulation prompted them to arms, and revenge directed thoſe arms againſt the Barbarians. Jaſon, Admetus, and other chieftains of Theſſaly[41], having equipped a ſmall fleet in the neighbouring harbour of Iolcus, and particularly the ſhip Argo, of ſuperior ſize and conſtruction to any before known, were animated with a deſire to viſit foreign lands, to plant colonies in thoſe parts of them that appeared moſt delightful, and to retort on their inhabitants the injuries which Greece had ſuffered from ſtrangers[42]. The princes of the north having proclaimed this ſpirited deſign over the central and ſouthern provinces, the ſtandard of enterpriſe and glory was ſpeedily ſurrounded by the flower of the Grecian youth[43], who eagerly embraced this honourable opportunity to ſignalize their manly valour. Peleus, Tydeus, Telamon, and, in general, the fathers of thoſe heroic chiefs, who, in the ſucceeding age, ſhone with diſtinguiſh-

[41] Their names are mentioned by Apollodorus, Diod. Siculus, Pindar, Apollonius, &c.

[42] Herodot. l. i. Diodor. Sicul. l. iv. [43] Pindar, Pythio. iv.

ed

ed luſtre in the plains of Troy, are numbered among the leaders of the Argonauts. They were accompanied by the choſen warriors, and by the venerable prophets, of their reſpective tribes; by an Eſculapius, the admired father of the healing art, and by the divine Orpheus [44], whoſe ſublime genius was worthy to celebrate the amazing ſeries of their adventures.

Theſe adventures, however, have been too much adorned by the graces of poetry, to be the proper ſubjects of hiſtorical compoſition. The deſigns of the Argonauts are veiled under the allegorical, or at leaſt doubtful, phraſe, "of carrying "off the golden fleece;" which, though eaſily explained, if we admit the report that the inhabitants of the eaſtern banks of the Euxine extended fleeces of wool, in order to collect the golden particles which were carried down by the torrents from Mount Caucaſus [45], is yet deſcribed in ſuch various language by ancient writers, that almoſt every modern who examines the ſubject, thinks himſelf entitled to offer, by way of explanation, ſome new conjecture of his own. But in oppoſition to the moſt approved of theſe conjectures, we may venture to affirm, that the voyage to Colchis was not

44 The teſtimony of Plato de Repub. l. x. of Iſocrates in Buſirid. ſufficiently atteſt the poetical fame of Orpheus. The Argonautica, and other works aſcribed to him, are collected by Eſchenbachius, and publiſhed at Nuremberg 1702. That theſe, however, are the productions of a much later age, appears from innumerable circumſtances, ſome of which are mentioned by Fabricius, Bib. Græc. vol. i. p. 120.

45 Strabo, l. xi. p. 499.

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undertaken with a view to eſtabliſh extenſive plans of commerce[46], or to ſearch for mines of gold, far leſs to learn the imaginary art of converting other ſubſtances into that precious metal[47]; all ſuch motives ſuppoſing a degree of ſpeculation and refinement unknown in that age to the gallant but untutored youth of Theſſaly. The real object of the expedition may be diſcovered in its effects. The Argonauts fought, conquered, and plundered[48]; they ſettled a colony on the ſhores of the Euxine[49]; and carried into Greece a daughter of the king of Colchis, the celebrated Medea[50], a princeſs of Egyptian extraction, whoſe crimes and enchantments are condemned to eternal infamy in the immortal lines of Euripides.

Important conſequences of the Argonautic expedition.

Notwithſtanding many romantic fictions that diſfigure the ſtory of the Argonauts, their undertaking appears to have been attended with a conſiderable and a happy effect on the manners and character of the Greeks. From the æra of this celebrated expedition, we may diſcover not only a more daring and more enlarged ſpirit of enterpriſe, but a more deciſive and rapid progreſs towards civilization and humanity. The ſullen and unſociable chiefs, whoſe acquaintance with each other moſt commonly aroſe from acts of mutual hoſtility, hitherto gave full ſcope to the ſanguinary paſſions which characterize Barbarians[51]. Strength and

46 Euſtach. in Homer.

47 Suidas, Memoires de l'Academ. v. 9. Exped. Argon.

48 Diodor. ibid. 49 Xenoph. Anabaſ. 50 Euripid. Med.

51 This was the brazen age deſcribed by Heſiod. Oper. & Di. l. i. p. 142—155. and by Plutarch in the life of Theſeus.

courage

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courage were almoſt the only qualities which they admired: they fought and plundered at the head of their reſpective tribes, while the inhabitants of the neighbouring diſtricts were regarded as fit objects only to excite their rage, and gratify their rapacity. But theſe gloomy warriors, having exerted their joint valour in a remote expedition, learned the neceſſity of acquiring more amiable virtues, as well as of adopting more liberal notions of the public intereſt. Military courage and addreſs might alone procure them the reſpect of their immediate followers, ſince the ſafety of the little community often depended on the warlike abilities of the chieftain; but when ſeveral tribes had combined in a common enterpriſe, there was leſs dependence on the proweſs of any ſingle leader. Emulation and intereſt naturally rendered all theſe leaders as jealous of each other, as deſirous of the public eſteem; and, in order to acquire this eſteem, it was neceſſary to brighten the luſtre of martial ſpirit by the more valuable [52] virtues of juſtice and humanity.

Change of manners.

When this glorious field firſt opened to the ambition of the Greeks, they cultivated it with a degree of induſtry equally ardent and ſucceſsful. Immortal were the exploits of Hercules, of

The heroic age.

[52] Heſiod marks this change of manners. It happened between the expedition of the Argonauts and the ſiege of Thebes, ſince the latter was the firſt exploit in which his new race of men, γενος δικαιοτερον και αριον, "a more juſt and nobler race," were engaged. See Heſiod. Oper. & Di. l. i. v. 155—165.

CHAP. I. Theſeus, and of the divine ſons of Leda [53], and undertaken with infinite toil and danger, to promote the intereſt and ſafety, not of their particular tribes, but of the general confederacy. The Grecian woods and mountains abounded in lions, boars, and other fierce animals [54], that often roamed from their haunts, and ſpread terror and deſolation through the adjoining vallies. The vallies themſelves teemed with men of brutal ſtrength and courage, who availed themſelves of the weakneſs of government to perpetrate horrid deeds of violence and cruelty. The firſt worthies of Greece, animated rather with the daring and uſeful, than with the romantic ſpirit of chivalry, ſet themſelves with one accord to remedy evils which threatened the exiſtence of ſociety. Their adventures have,

53 "In order to obtain the immortal fruits of merit," ſays Ariſtotle, in his beautiful Ode to Virtue,

ὁ διος Ηρακλης,
Λησας τε κυρσι, πολλα ανιτλασαι,
Εργοις σαν αγξευοντες δυναμιν·
Σοις δε ποθοις Αχιλλευς,
Αιας τ' Αιδαο δομοι ηλθον.

This ode, which is preſerved in Diogen. Laert. in Ariſtot. and in Athenæus, l. xv. c. 16. proves the mind of the Stagyrite to have been as lofty as capacious: and, while it comprehended the whole circle of ſcience, capable of reaching, in lyric poetry, the higheſt flights of Pindar and Horace. The latter, undoubtedly, had Ariſtotle in view, in ode 3. b. 3.

Hac arte Pollux, & vagus Hercules
Innixus, arces attigit igneas.

But in the order of his names, he is not ſo faithful to chronology.

54 In the ſhield of Hercules, Heſiod deſcribes a boar fighting with a lion, and almoſt prevailing in the combat. That animal was no leſs terrible on the oppoſite coaſt of Aſia than in Greece, as we learn from Herodotus, l. i. c. 34, & ſeq.

doubtleſs,

doubtleſs, been embelliſhed by the elegant fancy of poets and orators; but they will remain eternal monuments of generous magnanimity, which ſacrifices the inſtinctive love of eaſe and pleaſure to the acquired taſte for glory and renown [55].

The war of Thebes. A. C. 1225.

The laws of war and peace gradually improved with the progreſs of humanity; and the firſt general enterpriſe, which ſucceeded the expedition of the Argonauts, proves that whole communities, as well as individuals, had begun to reſpect the virtues moſt eſſential to public happineſs. The war of Thebes has deſerved, therefore, to be recorded; while the more ancient hoſtilities between the Hellenic tribes, of which juſtice was not even the pretence, but luſt or avarice the only cauſe, and wealth or beauty the only prize, are univerſally condemned to oblivion. Contempt of an ancient oracle, the involuntary crimes of Oedipus, and the unnatural cruelty of his ſons, involved the royal family of Thebes in that maze of calamities, appropriated in all ages, from Sophocles [56] to Voltaire, as favourite ſubjects of the Tragic Muſe. Eteocles and Polynices (theſe were the miſerable ſons of Oedipus) having haſtened the death, and drawn down the maledictions, of their unhappy father, agreed to reign by turns, the Theban ſceptre. Eteocles,

[55] Pauſan. l. i. Iſocrat. Hellen. Encom. & Panegyr. Lyſias & Demoſthen. Orat. Funebr.

[56] I might have ſaid Æſchylus, whoſe "Seven againſt Thebes" is founded on the hiſtory related in the text. But the name of Sophocles will bring to the mind of every reader of taſte and humanity, the Oedipus Tyrannus, and particularly the Oedipus Coloneus.

the

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the elder brother, reigned during the firſt year; but his ambitious temper, corrupted by the honours of royalty, refuſed to reſign the throne at the appointed term of his command. His rival, Polynices, married the daughter of Adraſtus, king of Argos, who enabled his ſon-in-law to aſſert, by force of arms, his juſt pretenſions to the alternate inheritance. The allied princes, reinforced by Tydeus, Capaneus, and three other chiefs, marched to Thebes at the head of ſeven bands of armed followers, who inveſted the ſeven gates of the city. The Thebans, impatient of confinement within the walls of a place ill provided with ſupplies, yielded to the martial ardour of Eteocles, and repelled the aſſailants by a vigorous ſally, in which the moſt illuſtrious combatants fell on both ſides, and the wretched brothers periſhed by mutual wounds. The cauſe of the war being removed by this horrid cataſtrophe, the Argives craved leave to bury their dead; but the Thebans, exaſperated againſt the daring invaders of their country, returned them an anſwer, which, according to the principles of that age, bade defiance to the dictates of nature, and the precepts of religion. In this extremity, Adraſtus, the only chief who ſurvived the battle, had recourſe to the humane piety of the Athenians, who, uninfluenced by motives of ambition or intereſt, took arms in defence of public juſtice, and compelled the cruel obſtinacy of the Thebans to grant the laſt melancholy honours to the aſhes of their deceaſed enemies[57]. At the diſtance of ten

57 Lyſias Orat. Funeb.

years,

years, the more fortunate ſons of the chiefs who had fallen before the Theban walls, reſented, with the fury of religious rage, the indignities that had been impiouſly offered to the manes of their fathers. They again laid ſiege to the guilty city, deſtroyed the lives and property of many of the inhabitants, dragged many into captivity, and compelled the remainder to acknowledge, as their king, the infant ſon of the injured Polynices [58].

Circumſtances which favoured the progreſs towards internal tranquillity in the Grecian ſtates.

In their progreſs towards civilization, the Greeks perceived the advantages of political confederacy, before they became fully ſenſible of the benefits of civil union. The neceſſity of providing for defence againſt the aſſaults of foreign enemies, and the natural dictates of intereſt and ambition, unfolded the idea of a federal aſſociation between different communities, before the members of any one ſtate had been ſufficiently united in the ſyſtem of domeſtic policy. Various cluſters of towns and villages, ſituate in winding vallies, divided by lofty mountains, acknowledged the authority of kings or chieftains, who led forth their warlike youth to glory and danger. Summoned to arms againſt foreign enemies, they readily flocked to the ſtandard of their king, and received, with implicit ſubmiſſion, his commands in the field: but when no common cauſe rouſed their emulation, or excited their valour, the inhabitants of each little

[58] Conſer. Homer. l. iv. v. 337. & paſſim. Heſiod. Op. & Di. Æſchyl. Septem contra Thebas. Lyſias Orat. Funeb. Statius Thebaid. Apollod. l. iii. Diodor. l. iv. Pauſan. in Bæotic.

townſhip

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township aſpired at independent juriſdiction, and the nominal ſubjects of the ſame prince often terminated their differences by the deciſion of the ſword [59].

The example of Crete.

To cement ſuch diſorderly communities by laws and government, required an acquaintance with ſome more civilized people, among whom the effects of this happy union viſibly prevailed. Such an example fortunately occurred in the wiſe inſtitutions and policy of the Cretans, which are repreſented not only as the moſt ancient, but the beſt regulations, that ever were eſtabliſhed in any portion of the Grecian territory [60]. The celebrated iſland, which fable has dignified with the imaginary honour of giving birth to ſome of the gods [61] of Greece, poſſeſſed the real merit of communicating to that country many uſeful improvements. It had been early planted, as we had occaſion already to obſerve, by a colony of Dorians. This colony, which received various [62] acceſſions from Greece, enjoyed two advantages above their brethren on the continent. Their inſular ſituation left them expoſed, indeed, to naval depredations, but delivered them from thoſe fierce incurſions by land, which often diſfigured and deſolated the mother country. A favourable gale wafted [illegible] unſkilful mariners of antiquity from the ſhores of Crete to the capital of Egypt. The facility of communica-

Peculiar circumſtances of that iſland.

59 Thucydid. l. i. Plut. in Theſeo.

60 Plat. de Leg. & in Minoe. Ariſtot. Pol. l. ii. Plut. in Lycurg.

61 Heſiod. Theog. 62 Homer Iliad. l. xix. v. 172, &c.

tion

tion thus introduced between the two countries an habitual intercourſe, from which the barbarous iſlanders had nothing to loſe, and every thing to gain. Rhadamanthus [63], and others of their early kings or chieftains, whom intereſt or curioſity carried into Egypt and the Eaſt, appear to have had ſagacity to obſerve, and dexterity to employ, ſeveral of the inventions and inſtitutions of thoſe powerful and civilized kingdoms, for the uſeful purpoſe of confirming their own authority, and bridling the fierce paſſions of their countrymen.

The elder Minos is peculiarly diſtinguiſhed for promoting this beneficial deſign. The doubtful appellation of Son of the Ocean, which, perhaps, he might derive from his numerous voyages, leaves it uncertain whether he was a native Cretan, or a foreigner. In the countries which he had viſited, he obſerved certain families inveſted, from time immemorial, with unbounded honours, as the immediate vicegerents of the divinity. The uncultivated, but freeborn genius of Greece, always rejected this odious profanation; and the prudence of Minos aſpired only to obtain that reſpect for his office, which he would have vainly ſolicited for his perſon. We are not informed by what virtues, civil or military, he acquired, before the eſtabliſhment of his laws, an extraordinary influence among the Cretans. But as ſlaves multiplied to ſuch a degree in the iſland during his reign, that agriculture and the mechanic arts were exerciſed by them

The elder Minos.

[63] Strabo, l. x. p. 480.

alone,

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alone, there is reaſon to conjecture that he had been extremely ſucceſsful in war againſt his neighbours, and no leſs equitable in dividing the booty among the various Cretan tribes who followed the fortune of his arms. However this may be, it appears from the general evidence of antiquity, that Minos had addreſs to perſuade men, prone to wonder and to believe, among whom, whatever dazzled the imagination announced the preſence of a divinity, that their favourite hero was admitted to the familiarity of the gods[64]. From them he pretended to derive an invaluable ſyſtem of laws, which he was enjoined to engrave on tables of braſs. From Jupiter he received the regal ſceptre, which entitled him to adminiſter theſe laws, but obliged him to reſpect them. By command of the ſame god, he founded the city of Cnoſſus, Cydonia, and Pheſtus, and united the diſtant ſubjects of his wide-extended domain, by ſuch regulations as ſerved alike to ſupport the authority of the prince, and to maintain the rights of the people[65].

Expedition of Theſeus into Crete.

The beautiful arrangement of this political edifice ſtruck the diſcerning eye of Theſeus, the illuſtrious ſon of Ægeus, king of Athens, in his celebrated expedition to Crete, during the reign of the ſecond Minos. The laſt-mentioned prince joined

64 Διος μεγαλε ουριτης. Odyſſ. l. xix. v. 179. which Horace tranſlates,

Jovis arcanis Minos admiſſus. L. i. Ode 28.

65 Strabo, l. x. p. 480. Plato in Minoe? Diod. l. v.

the

the ſplendor of military renown to the famed wiſdom of his revered anceſtor. His maritime force exceeded the united ſtrength of his neighbours; he ſubdued ſeveral of the circumjacent iſles; and while he permitted his own ſubjects to ravage the coaſts of Greece, under pretence of lawful war, he effectually checked the piratical depredations of the Carians, Lycians, and Phœnicians, which had hitherto proved ſo frequent and ſo deſtructive [66]. Athens experienced the effects of his power and ambition, and reluctantly ſubmitted to a diſgraceful tribute of ſeven youths, and as many virgins [67], which was cruelly exacted by a nation ſubſiſting from the labour of ſlaves. The tributary captives were drawn by lot from the body of the people, who trembled at the annual return of the Cretan veſſel. Diſcontents aroſe againſt the government of Ægeus, who ſeemed to bear the indignity with too much tameneſs; when his heroic ſon, with a patriotiſm congenial to his character, generouſly offered his life in the ſervice of his country [68]. The fame of Theſeus had already reached the ears of Minos, who reſpected his virtues; and this reſpect was converted into admiration, on beholding the Athenian prince a voluntary captive. Minos treated him with the af-

[66] Thucydid. l. i.

[67] Odyſſ. l. xi. v. 320. & Virgil, Æn. 6.

Tum pendere pœnas
Cecropidæ juſſi, miſerum! ſeptena quotannis
Corpora natorum.

[68] Ipſe ſuum Theſeus pro caris corpus Athenis
Projicere optavit.—— Catullus.

fectionate

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fectionate kindneſs of ancient hoſpitality; gave him his daughter Ariadne in marriage; and declared the Athenians thenceforth free from a contribution equally cruel and ignominious. Theſeus reaped great glory from this tranſaction. The veſſel, in which he ſailed, continued to be annually ſent, for more than eight centuries afterwards, to return thanks to Apollo, in his favourite iſland of Delos [69]; and the fortunate voyage to Crete was celebrated by ſacrifices, and other ceremonies, handed down to the lateſt times of the Athenian republic [70].

Theſeus communicates the Cretan improvements to Attica.

Many extraordinary circumſtances, invented by the poets, diſfigure events, which are otherwiſe ſufficiently authenticated. The unnatural amours of the abominable Paſiphaé, and the bloody feaſts of the monſtrous Minotaur [71], have been faithfully tranſcribed, from one age to another, in the tireſome compilations of injudicious mythologiſts; but it ſeems not to have occurred to thoſe writers, that the expedition to Crete laid the foundation of the improvements afterwards introduced by Theſeus into the Athenian government. The inſtitutions and manners of that iſland preſented a picture of more regular compoſition, and more harmonious colouring, than could be ſeen in any part of the Grecian continent. Various ſocieties of freemen,

69 Plato. Phædo.

70 Plut. in Theſeo.

71 Hìc crudelis amor tauri, ſuppoſtaque furto
Paſiphaë, &c.

The judicious Virgil places theſe ſtrange ſtories in the ſculptured porch of an ancient temple.

all

all united under one government, all equal among themſelves, and all ſerved by ſlaves; no private property in land; the men eating at public tables, and the families ſubſiſting from the common ſtock; the youth regularly trained to the gymnaſtic exerciſes, navigation, and war; a ſevere morality enforced by law; honour the reward of age and merit; and the whole community acknowledging the prerogative of an hereditary king, who derived his authority from Jupiter, but who was no longer entitled to the divine protection, than he continued to obſerve juſtice, and to maintain the unalienable privileges of his ſubjects [72]. Impreſſed with the ſalutary inſtitutions which he beheld in this flouriſhing iſland, Theſeus, upon his acceſſion to the throne of his father, was ambitious to communicate them to his native country. The rudeneſs of the Athenians, indeed, admitted not the introduction of written laws. But the ſcattered villages of Attica were perſuaded to embrace the regulations of the capital [73]; to unite in common ceremonies of religion; to acknowledge the reciprocal obligations of ſubjects; and, while they aſſerted the rights of citizens, to reſpect, during peace and war, the ſacred prerogative of royal majeſty.

The improvements in domeſtic policy, thus introduced into Attica by the example of Crete, and the wiſdom of Theſeus, were gradually adopted by the neighbouring provinces [74]. At the com- Thence diffuſed through Greece.

72 Ariſtot. Polit. l. ii. c. 9, &c. Strabo, ibid. Plato de Leg.
73 Thucydid. l. ii. Plut. in Theſeo. 74 Dionyſ. Halic. l. v.

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mencement of the Trojan war, all the Grecian ſtates had embraced one uniform ſyſtem of government, uniting the independent ſpirit of European freedom with the reſpectful veneration of Egyptian and Aſiatic ſuperſtition[75]. This ſingular frame of policy, compoſed of materials ſeemingly incapable of alliance, was peculiarly well adapted to great and generous undertakings; and unleſs the divine, though limited authority of kings, had fortified the other inſtitutions which ſerved to tame the ferocity of the Greeks, there is reaſon to doubt whether their leaders could have rouſed above an hundred thouſand ſtubborn Barbarians to a diſtant and difficult enterpriſe, much leſs have detained their reluctant impatience during ten years in the ſiege of Troy.

This enables the Greeks to undertake the Trojan war.

Deſcription of Greece;

its ſtrength and reſources.

Before we examine the cauſes and incidents of this celebrated ſiege, to which the exploits hitherto related ſeem but unworthy preludes, it may be proper to take a ſhort view of the ſtrength and reſources of the two nations, who were eager to ſhock in a conflict, that totally deſtroyed the one, and proved extremely ruinous to the other. Excluſive of the provinces of Epirus and Macedonia, which long remained barbarous and uncultivated, the continental poſſeſſions of the Greeks were nearly equal to Scotland in extent, marked with ſtill bolder features, and bleſſed with a warmer ſun. In its length, the whole country is almoſt equally divided by two oppoſite gulphs, compreſſing be-

[75] Homer, paſſim.

tween

tween them a mountainous neck of land, to the breadth of only five miles, into the peninſula of Peloponneſus, and the territory extending northwards, from the extremity of the Corinthian iſthmus to the ſouthern frontier of Macedonia [76]. The Peloponneſus, an hundred and ſixty miles in length, and ſcarcely one hundred in breadth, is every where interſected by mountains, particularly the towering ridges of Zarex and Taygetus. During the flouriſhing ages of Greece, this ſmall peninſula contained ſeven independent communities of unequal power and fame, which ranked in the following order; The comparatively large, and highly diverſified, territory of Laconia; the fruitful vale of Argos; the extenſive coaſt of Achaia; the narrow but commercial iſthmus of Corinth; the central and mountainous region of Arcadia; together with the more level countries of Elis and Meſſenia, which are throughout better adapted to tillage than any other provinces of the Peloponneſus [77]. The Grecian poſſeſſions beyond the Corinthian iſthmus were more conſiderable, extending above two hundred miles from eaſt to weſt, and one hundred and fifty from north to ſouth. They were naturally divided by the long and intricate ridges of Olympus, Pindus, Oeta, and Oſſa, into nine ſeparate provinces; which, during the celebrated ages of Grecian freedom, were occupied by nine independent republics. They comprehended the extenſive and fertile plains of

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76 Strabo, l. vii. 77 Strabo, ibid. & Pauſan. Meſſen.

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Theſſaly and Bœotia, both of which were, in early times, much expoſed to inundations; and the latter, abounding in ſubterranean caverns, was peculiarly ſubject to earthquakes; the leſs fertile, but more ſecure territory of Attica; the weſtern provinces of Ætolia and Acarnania, encompaſſed on one ſide by dangerous ſeas, and confined on the other by almoſt impaſſable mountains; and the four ſmall rocky diſtricts of Phocis, Doris, Locris, and Megara[78].

It has been obſerved, that theſe names and diviſions, which remained to the lateſt times, are pretty accurately marked by Homer, whoſe poems continued, through ſucceeding ages, to be the approved ſtandard and legal code, to which neighbouring communities appealed, in adjuſting their diſputed boundaries[79]. This obſervation, however, muſt be qualified chiefly by two exceptions. During the Trojan war, the extenſive province of Theſſaly ſent forth above a fourth part of the whole Grecian ſtrength, and was divided among many warlike leaders. It might naturally be expected, while agriculture and paſturage were the principal occupations ſubſervient to human life, that a country, abounding in plains and meadows, ſhould excel in population and in power[80]. When commerce, navigation, and the mechanic arts, enriched and adorned the middle and ſouthern diviſions of Greece, the northern diſtrict of Theſſaly loſt its ancient pre-eminence. The ſecond

78 Strabo, l. vii. 79 Plut. in Solon. 80 Plato in Menon.

exception

exception aroſe from the extenſive power of the houſe of Pelops, which, as already mentioned, had, by fortunate marriages and rich ſucceſſions, acquired dominion over the northern and eaſtern parts of the Peloponneſus, formerly containing ſeveral independent principalities, and, after the misfortunes of Agamemnon and his family, again divided into the immortal republics of Sparta, Argos, Corinth, and Achaia.

Number of the Grecian ſhips and troops.

From this general view of the country, it will not appear remarkable, that, in an age when every able-bodied man was a ſoldier, Greece ſhould have raiſed an army of an hundred and two thouſand men. The Acarnanians alone, for reaſons unknown, ſent no forces to Troy. But the continent was aſſiſted by the generous efforts of Crete, of Rhodes, and of many ſmaller iſlands, which were ſubject to their reſpective princes, or governed by the wide-extended dominion of Agamemnon. The veſſels collected for tranſporting theſe forces to Aſia amounted to twelve hundred ſail. They were equipped at little expence, and built with little ingenuity, moved by only one bank of oars, and entirely unprovided with decks or anchors. Their complement varied in different veſſels; ſome contained an hundred and twenty, others only fifty men, who appear to have been equally acquainted with the military art, as practiſed in that remote age, and with the rude ſimplicity of ancient navigation [81].

[81] Thucydid. ibid. Homer, paſſim.

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Deſcription of Troas, or Leſſer Phrygia.

The celebrated kingdom of Priam, againſt which this armament was directed, occupied the eaſtern banks of the Helleſpont, the ſouthern coaſt of the Propontis, and the northern ſhores of the Ægean. From the river Eſepus to the promontory of Lectum, the Trojan dominions extended in length two hundred miles; but their breadth was far leſs conſiderable, being irregularly compreſſed between three ſeas, and the lofty ridges of mount Ida. This delightful and pictureſque country, which excelled Greece in fruitfulneſs of ſoil and ſoftneſs of climate [82], was diſtinguiſhed by the epithet of Helleſpontian, from the large inland province, which bore the common name of Phrygia [83]. The Leſſer, or Helleſpontian Phrygia, was planted, according to tradition, by a Grecian colony, about two hundred years before the Trojan war. The ſimilarity of religion, language, and manners, ſufficiently juſtified that opinion, and ſeems to have induced the moſt diligent inquirers of antiquity to regard not only the Trojans, but the Lycians and Pamphylians, as ſcattered branches of the Hellenic nation [84], which diſtance of place had gradually cut off from all communication with the trunk. The Aſiatic Greeks were expoſed to none of thoſe unfavourable circumſtances already mentioned, which long retarded the improvement of their brethren in Europe. The fertile and extenſive plains of Aſia offered them the materials of

Hiſtory of that country.

82 Hippocrat. de Loc.

83 Strabo, l. xiii.

84 Herodot. l. vii. Strabo, l. xiv.

more

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more powerful kingdoms than Greece could afford; and, inſtead of being haraſſed and endangered by the continual incurſions of northern ſavages, they enjoyed the vicinity of the Phrygians and Lydians, nations deſcribed as flouriſhing in wealth and peace from the remoteſt antiquity[85]. From the prevalence of the Grecian language and cuſtoms on the one hand, and the name of the country on the other, it is not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the Trojans were a mingled race of Greeks and Phrygians, collected by Dardanus, anceſtor fifth in degree to old Priam.

This adventurer, whoſe parentage Homer leaves uncertain, by calling him ſon of Jupiter[86], founded a city on one of the many weſtern branches of mount Ida, commanding a beautiful and fertile plain, and watered by the immortal rivers Simois and Scamander[87]. The new ſettlement flouriſhed under his ſon, the wealthy Ericthonius, who, by the judicious management of his mares and ſtallions, ſupplied the neighbouring kingdoms with horſes of a ſuperior breed. His ſucceſſor, Tros, communicated his name to the territory, which was often called Troas, and to the celebrated city Ilion, which his ſon Ilus, having removed his reſidence from the mountain, built on the adjoining plain. Laomedon, the ſucceſſor of Ilus, fortified the town of Ilion, or Troy, with walls of ſuch uncommon ſtrength, that, in the language and be-

[85] Herodot. l. i. Dionyſ. Halic. l. i. Suidas in voc. Ἀνακτες.
[86] Iliad, xx. v. 215. [87] Ibid. xx. v. 216, &c. Strabo, lxiii.

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lief of the times, they were deemed the work of the gods [88]. Whether he defrauded his ſuppoſed auxiliaries of their promiſed rewards and ſacrifices, or ſupplied the expence of this undertaking by deſpoiling their ſacred ſhrines, it is certain that the guilt of Laomedon was believed to entail calamity on his unhappy deſcendants.

Reign of Priam.

His ſon Priam, however, long enjoyed the deceitful gifts of fortune, before he was overtaken by the vengeance of heaven. Having attained old age in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of a throne, he was ſurrounded by a numerous and flouriſhing family, beloved by his ſubjects, and reſpected by his neighbours. Yet this amiable, but too indulgent prince, was deſtined to feel the ſharpeſt pangs of human miſery.

Cauſes of the Trojan war.

Hereditary feuds ſubſiſted between the anceſtors of Priam and thoſe of Agamemnon, when the latter quitted their eſtabliſhments in Aſia, to ſeek new ſettlements in Greece. The inſult offered to Ganymede, a beautiful Trojan youth, by the brutal fury of Tantalus [89], was retorted on Menelaus, the fourth in deſcent from this infamous prince, by the rape and detention of his queen, the celebrated Helen. Paris, the ill-fated ſon of Priam, was the author of this new injury. But reſentment for the wrongs of his houſe formed not the

[88] Homer. Iliad, xx. v. 216, &c. Strabo. lxiii.

[89] It has been obſerved, that the ſtory of Tantalus, father of Pelops, was probably the invention of a later age. It is certain that, whatever might prevail in Phrygia, the unnatural paſſion, which diſgraced the later times of Greece, was unknown in that country during the heroic ages. Natal. Com. l. ix. c. 13.

only

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Beauty and adventures of Helen, daughter of the king of Sparta.

only motive which engaged the youthful levity of Paris to diſhonour the ſiſter-in-law of Agamemnon. Helen was the daughter of Tyndareus, king of Sparta. The illuſtrious honours of her family were adorned by the generous magnanimity of her brothers, Caſtor and Polydeuces, whoſe exploits ſhone conſpicuous in all the military expeditions of that gallant age. But the native luſtre of Helen needed not the aid of foreign ornament. Even in the tender age of childhood, her opening charms had inflamed the heart of Theſeus [90], the moſt admired and the moſt virtuous of the Grecian chiefs. The fame of her beauty increaſed with her ripening age, and her perſon became an object of eager contention among thoſe who, by birth or merit, were entitled to aſpire at the invaluable prize. Tyndareus, ſolicitous to prevent the violence of a ſecond lover (for, agreeably to the manners of his age, Theſeus had carried her off by force), bound the various ſuitors by oath to defend the honour of his daughter, and to ſecure the poſſeſſion of her charms to the man who ſhould be honoured with her choice [91]. The princely mien and inſinuating manners of Menelaus, were preferred to the more ſolid qualities of his numerous competitors. Having married the heireſs of Tyndareus, he ſucceeded, in her right, to the Spartan throne [92]. The graceful pair had not long enjoyed the honours of royalty, and the ſweets of conjugal union, when their happineſs

She marries Menelaus, who ſucceeds to that kingdom.

[90] Plut. in Theſeo. [91] Thucydid. l. i. c. 9. [92] Pauſan. Lacon.

was

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Character of Paris, ſon of Priam;

was interrupted by the arrival of the ſon of Priam, the handſomeſt man of his age, and ſingularly adorned with the frivolous accompliſhments that often captivate the weakneſs of a female mind. Though a ſoldier of no great renown, Paris had ſtrongly imbibed the romantic ſpirit of gallantry, which prevailed [93] in the heroic ages, and was diſtinguiſhed by an ardent paſſion for beauty, which, notwithſtanding the general ſoftneſs of his unwarlike character, prompted him to brave every danger in purſuit of his favourite object. Animated by the hope of beholding the inimitable model of what he moſt adored, he ſeized the opportunity afforded him by a voyage of Menelaus into Crete, viſited the dominions of his hereditary enemies, and ſolicited the rites of hoſpitality at the Spartan court.

who ſeduces, and carries her to Troy.

His perſon, his accompliſhments, his addreſs, and ſtill more the voluntary hardſhips which he had endured for her ſake, ſeduced the inconſtant affections of the Grecian queen. Enamoured of the elegant ſtranger, ſhe abandoned her country and her huſband, and having tranſported her moſt valuable treaſure within the Trojan walls, defied the reſentment of Greece, and the vengeance of heaven.

93 Perſeus had carried off the African Meduſa; Jaſon, Medea of Colchis; Theſeus, the Amazon Antiope; Hercules, Megara, Iole, Deaneira, &c. The hiſtorical poets of the heroic ages might have ſaid, with Arioſto,

Le donne, i cavalier, l'arme, gli amori,
Le corteſie, l'audaci impreſe Jo canto.

It

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It was now the time for Menelaus to crave the ſtipulated aſſiſtance of his ancient rivals. His demand was enforced by the authority of Agamemnon [94]. At the ſummons of the two brothers, the confederates aſſembled at Ægium, the capital of Achaia; confirmed the obligation of their former promiſe; ſettled the proportion of troops to be raiſed by each prince; determined the time and place of their departure; and named Agamemnon, the moſt powerful among them, to the chief command, in an expedition which ſo deeply concerned the honour of his family.

The Greeks determine to recover her.

Aulis, a ſea-port of Bœotia, was appointed for the place of rendezvous and embarkation [95]. Before the whole armament ſailed from thence, Ulyſſes king of Ithaca, and, what may ſeem extraordinary, the injured Menelaus, undertook a ſolemn embaſſy to Troy, in order to demand reſtitution and reparation; but returned highly diſguſted with their reception and treatment. Some members of the Trojan council had the barbarity to propoſe putting them to death. Their juſt indignation increaſed the warlike ardour of their aſſociates. But contrary winds long retarded their departure. The Trojans had time to ſtrengthen their ramparts, to collect arms and proviſions, and to ſummon the aſſiſtance of their diſtant allies. The martial ſpirit of the age, together with a ſenſe of common danger, brought many powerful auxiliaries to Priam. His cauſe was defended by the

Sail to Troy under the command of Agamemnon.

94 Thucydid. l. i. c. 9. 95 Heſiod. Oper. & Dies.

hardy

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hardy mountaineers, who covered the back of his kingdom; by the Carians, Lycians, and other nations of Aſia Minor, extending from the mouth of the river Halys to the ſouthern extremity of Cilicia; and by the Pelaſgi, Thracians, and Pæonians, fierce Barbarians who inhabited the European ſide of the Helleſpont and Propontis. Confiding, however, rather in their domeſtic ſtrength, than in foreign aſſiſtance, the Trojans determined to defend their native ſhores againſt hoſtile invaſion. The debarkation of the Greeks was purchaſed by much blood. Having effected a deſcent, they encamped on the Trojan plain, but loſt the only opportunity which they enjoyed, during many years, of cruſhing at once the power of their enemies; who immediately ſhut themſelves up within their impenetrable walls, leaving the city open only on the ſide of mount Ida, from which they received corn, cattle, and other neceſſary ſupplies.

Effect a deſcent on the Trojan coaſt.

Agamemnon, as there was reaſon to expect from the manners of his age, had been more induſtrious in collecting a great army, than provident in contriving means by which it might keep the field. The proviſions, tranſported from Greece, were ſpeedily conſumed, while the operations of the ſiege promiſed little hopes of ſucceſs, the Greeks being unacquainted with any military engines fitted to make an impreſſion on the Trojan walls. With ſuch a numerous army, they might have converted the ſiege into a blockade; but ſcarcity of ſupplies compelled the greater part of them to quit

Cauſes which protracted the ſiege of Troy.

quit the camp. The reſource of ravaging the adjacent country ſoon exhauſted itſelf. Many betook themſelves to cultivating the rich vales of the Cherſoneſus, whoſe induſtrious inhabitants had recently been expelled, or deſtroyed, by the fierce incurſions of the barbarous Thracians[96]. Others had recourſe to piracy, ſcoured the neighbouring ſeas, ravaged the unprotected coaſts of the Helleſpont and Ægean, and plundered or demoliſhed ſuch unfortified places as acknowledged the dominion, or aſſiſted the arms of Troy[97]. Theſe ravages excited the rage of the Aſiatics, and rendered them more hearty in the cauſe of their confederates. In this manner nine ſummers and winters elapſed, without affording the nearer proſpect of a deciſion to the conteſt; but, in the tenth year of the war, the ſeeming misfortunes of the Greeks precipitated the downfal of the proud city of Priam. A dreadful peſtilence invaded the camp of the beſiegers, and long continued to rage with unabating fury. This calamity was followed by the well-known quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles, which deprived the Grecian army of its principal ſtrength and ornament. The Trojans derived new ſpirits from the misfortunes of their enemies; they ventured to abandon the protection of their walls, boldly aſſailed the Grecian camp, and riſked ſeveral engagements, in moſt of which they were victorious. In the laſt of theſe, the beloved friend of Achilles was ſlain by the arm of Hector, the

That city taken in the tenth year of the war.

[96] Thucydid. l. i.

[97] Homer, paſſim.

braveſt

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braveſt and moſt generous of the Trojan race. This event, which was infinitely more dreadful than death to the affectionate ardour of the Grecian chief, ſtifled his hitherto inexorable reſentment againſt the proud tyranny of Agamemnon. His return to the camp reſtored the declining fortune of the Greeks; and the indignant fury of his rage was quenched in the deteſted blood of Hector, whoſe patriotic valour had long been the firmeſt bulwark of his father's kingdom. The deſtruction of Troy [98] ſoon followed the death of her darling hero. The city, whether taken by ſtorm or by ſurpriſe, was ſet on fire in the night; moſt of the citizens periſhed by the ſword, or were dragged into captivity; and only a miſerable remnant eſcaped through the confuſed horror of raging flames and expiring kinſmen.

Future fortunes of Troy.

The burning of Troy happened eleven hundred and eighty-four years before the Chriſtian æra. Neither the city nor territory ever aſſumed, in any ſucceeding age, the dignity of independent government [99]. The ſea-coaſt was planted eighty years

[98] We ſhould probably know ſomething more of the hiſtory of the Trojan war, if the works of Piſander remained. Macrobius, in ſpeaking of the plagiariſms of the Romans from Greek writers, has the following paſſage: "Quæ Virgilius traxit a Græcis, dicturumne "me putetis, quæ vulgo nota ſunt? . . . vel quod everſionem Trojæ "cum Sinone ſuo et equo ligneo, ceteriſque omnibus, quæ librum "ſecundum faciunt, à *Piſandro* pene ad verbum tranſcripſerit, qui "inter Græcos poetas eminet," &c. Macrob. l. v. c. 2.

[99] I have carefully examined the evidence given by Bochart (Epiſt. num Æneas unquam fuit in Italia), and by Mr. Wood (Eſſay on the original Genius of Homer), to prove that the deſcendants of

years after the Trojan war, by new colonies from Greece; and the inland parts ſubmitted to the growing power of the Lydians, whoſe arms overſpread and conquered all the fineſt provinces of Leſſer Aſia [100].

The calamitous return of the Greeks.

The Greeks had recovered poſſeſſion of the admired beauty of Helen; they had taken complete vengeance on the family [101] and nation of her unhappy ſeducer; but the misfortunes, which were the natural conſequence of the Trojan expedition, left them little reaſon to boaſt of their victory. Of five Bœotian commanders, only one remained, and the ſiege had been proportionably fatal to the leaders of other tribes, as well as to their warlike followers. Thoſe who lived to divide the rich ſpoils of Troy, were impatient to ſet ſail with their newly-acquired treaſure, notwithſtanding the threatening appearance of the ſkies. Many of them periſhed by ſhipwreck; the reſt were long toſſed on unknown ſeas; and when they expected to find in their native country the end of their calamities, they were expoſed to ſuffer greater calamities there, than any which they had yet endured. The thrones of ſeveral of the abſent princes had

Æneas reigned in Troy. But notwithſtanding the learned ingenuity of a profound, and the plauſible criticiſm of an elegant ſcholar, the matter ſeems ſtill too doubtful to warrant contradicting the popular opinion.

100 Herod. l. ii. Thucyd. l. i. Juſtin, l. xviii. Strabo, l. iii.

101 I dwell not on a ſubject which has been treated by the great maſters of the paſſions. See Virgil:

Forſitan et Priami fuerint quæ fata requiras, &c.

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been uſurped by violence and ambition; the lands of various communities had been occupied by the invaſion of hoſtile tribes: even the leaſt unfortunate of thoſe adventurers found their domains uncultivated, or their territories laid waſte; their families torn by diſcord, or their cities ſhaken by ſedition. And thus the moſt celebrated enterpriſe of combined Greece tended to plunge that delightful and once happy country into barbariſm and miſery [102].

[102] Plato, de Leg. l. iii. Thucyd. l. i. p. 9.

CHAP. II.

Religion. — Government. — Arts. — Manners, and Character.

CHAP. II. Introduction.

THE ancient Greeks had ſtrongly imbibed an opinion, that the country in which they lived was peculiarly favourable to the dignity of human nature. The voluptuous climates of Aſia produced invention and ingenuity, but ſoftened the tempers of men into a fitneſs for ſervitude. The rigorous ſeverity of European ſkies gave ſtrength and agility to the limbs, and hardy boldneſs to the mind, but chilled the fancy, and benumbed the finer feelings of the ſoul. The inhabitants of the eaſt and ſouth were degraded below the condition of humanity, by an unfortunate abuſe of power, while the turbulent ſons of the north and weſt were incapable, from ignorance and indocility, of ſubmitting to any regular ſyſtem of government. The Greeks alone, poſſeſſing an intermediate ſituation between the extremes of cold and heat, united courage and capacity; tempered the ſtern and manly, with the gentler virtues; and enjoyed the double advantage of liberty and laws [1].

The authority of Homer, as an hiſtorian.

This ſplendid obſervation is too flattering to the dictates of national vanity to be haſtily adopted by a cautious inquirer into truth, who will be apt to

[1] Ariſtot. Politic. l. vii. c. 7. Iſocrat. Govern. Athen. Panegyric. & Panathen.

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aſcribe the ſuperior luſtre of Grecian manners, rather to the elegant imagination of authors, than to the intrinſic merit of their ſubject. Yet it muſt be acknowledged, ſeveral circumſtances would lead us to believe, that the great poet to whom we owe our principal information concerning the ancient ſtate of Greece, copied from nature only. The majeſty of Virgil, the ſplendor of Taſſo, and the ſublimity of Milton, are not ſufficient to conceal an effort in thoſe noble writers to maintain the tone which they have aſſumed; a deſire to embelliſh the manners which they deſcribe; an ambition to elevate and to adorn their poems by the uſe of a marvellous machinery, which had not its foundation in the experience, and (as to Virgil and Taſſo) ſcarcely in the belief of their own age. In Homer, there is neither embelliſhment, nor effort, nor diſguiſe of any kind; he relates what he has ſeen and heard with unaffected ſimplicity; his ideas and ſentiments are not only clothed in the graces of poetry, but arrayed in the charms of truth; and an amazing diverſity of characters, preſerving amidſt innumerable ſhades of diſcrimination a general air of reſemblance, diſtinguiſh the Iliad and Odyſſey above other poetical compoſitions, and prove them to have been copied, not from the limited combinations of human invention, but from the wide variety of impreſſions in the rich ſtore-houſe of nature. In ſome deſcriptive parts of his poem, Homer doubtleſs yielded to the pleaſing dictates of his inimitable fancy; but it ſeems plain from internal evidence only, that he delineates with

minute accuracy, the geography, mythology, hiſtory, and manners of Greece; and that his obſervations concerning all theſe ſubjects are perfectly agreeable to the opinions and belief which univerſally prevailed among his countrymen. If this matter required the aid of foreign evidence, it might be fully confirmed by the teſtimony of the Greek hiſtorians, who ſupport in every inſtance the veracity of the poet; aſſerting not only the authenticity of the facts which he relates, but the influence of the cauſes to which he aſcribes them [a].

Compariſon between the Greeks of the heroic ages, and the Germans as deſcribed by Tacitus.

It may be obſerved, however, by thoſe who would repreſs the ebullitions of Grecian vanity, that, admitting the poems of Homer as complete evidence concerning the ancient ſtate of his country, all the advantage that would follow from this ſuppoſition is, that the Greeks have been accurately deſcribed at an earlier period of their ſociety than moſt other nations; but the ſilence of thoſe nations

[a] The nature and tranſactions of the gods, which juſtly ſhock the feelings of the modern reader, are perfectly conformable to the belief of the Greeks. The continual interpoſition of theſe etherial beings in the affairs of human life, is juſtified by Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and all ſucceeding writers. Herodotus, l. i. c. 131. explains the reaſon why the Perſians erected neither temples, nor images, nor altars, by ſaying, ὅτι ουκ ανθρωποφυιας νομισαν τους θεους, κατάπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες εἶναι, "becauſe they did not, like the Greeks, believe the "gods to partake of a human nature, or form." That the gods often appeared in a human ſhape, is taken for granted by Pauſanias in Arcad. and Plutarch, de Muſic. The ſame opinion was firmly maintained by Julian, an orthodox Pagan, in a later age. See Gibbon, Vol. II. Many inſtances will occur in the following hiſtory, to prove the exact conformity of Homer's deſcriptions to the general belief of his country.

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cannot reaſonably be interpreted as a proof of their inferiority to the Greeks in manners or in policy. The maſterly deſcription of a philoſophic hiſtorian has reſcued the antiquities of one other people from oblivion; and the generous ſpirit of *their* ſimple but manly inſtitutions, as painted by his expreſſive pencil, is ſcarcely diſgraced by a compariſon with the boaſted cuſtoms of the heroic ages.

In the preference of military glory to all other advantages, in the freedom of debate in the public aſſemblies, and in the protection afforded to the rights and liberties of the meaneſt citizen, the treatiſe of Tacitus will equally apply to the Germans and to the Greeks. But there is one material circumſtance wanting in the German, which adds peculiar beauty to the Grecian character. Among the rude inhabitants of ancient Germany, the offices of prieſt and king were not united in the ſame perſon. The rites of religion were adminiſtered by a particular order of men, who might abuſe the ſuperſtitious fears of the multitude to promote their own ſelfiſh deſigns; and the dread of ſuperior powers, though ſometimes employed to enforce the dictates of nature, and to promote the operations of government, might alſo, with equal ſucceſs, be employed to weaken the impreſſions of the one, and to reſiſt the authority of the other. Beſides this unfavourable circumſtance, the ſuperſtition of the Germans was of a dark and gloomy kind, little connected with the ordinary duties of ſociety, recommending principally the practice of courage, the only virtue which there was not any occaſion

occaſion to recommend; and promiſing, as the reward of what was deemed the higheſt excellence in life, the enjoyment of an infamous paradiſe of immortal drunkenneſs after death [3]. CHAP. II.

The mythology of the Greeks was of a more agreeable, and of a far more uſeful nature. The ſceptre, which denoted the connection of civil power with ſacred protection, was conferred on thoſe who, while they continued the humble miniſters of the gods, were appointed to be the chief, but accountable guardians of the people [4]. The ſame voice that ſummoned the warriors to arms, or that decided, in time of peace, their domeſtic contentions, conducted the order of their religious worſhip, and preſided in the prayers and hymns addreſſed to the divinity. Theſe prayers and hymns, together with the important rite of ſacrifice (which likewiſe was performed by royal hands), formed the *ceremonial* part of the Grecian religion. The *moral* was far more extenſive, including the principal offices of life, and the nobleſt virtues of the mind. The uſeful quality of courage was peculiarly acceptable to the ſtern god of war; but the virtues of charity and hoſpitality were ſtill more pleaſing to the more amiable divinities [5]. The ſubmiſſion of ſubjects to their prince, the duty of

The religion of the Greeks.

Its happy influence on ſociety.

[3] Tacit. de Morib. German.

[4] Ποιμενες λαων.

[5] ——προς γαρ Διος εισιν απαντες
Ξεινοι τε πτωχοι τε·
All ſtrangers and beggars come from Jove. Odyſſ. xiv. 56.

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a prince to preſerve inviolate the rights of his ſubjects [6], the obedience of children to their parents [7], the reſpect of the young for the aged, the ſacred laws of truth, juſtice, honour, and decency, were inculcated and maintained by the awful authority of religion. Even the moſt ordinary tranſactions of private life were conſecrated by the piety of the Greeks. They ventured not to undertake a voyage, or a journey, without ſoliciting the propitious aid of their heavenly protectors. Every meal (and there were three [8] in a day) was accompanied with a ſacrifice and libation. The common forms of politeneſs, the cuſtomary duties of civility, were not decided by the varying taſte of individuals, but defined by the preciſe voice of the gods [9].

The ſanctions of their religion.

It would have ſerved little purpoſe to oppoſe ſalutary laws to the capricious licence of Barbarians, without guarding thoſe laws by very powerful ſanctions. Whether theſe ſanctions be founded on opinion or on fact is, with reſpect to their influence on the mind, a matter of little moment. The dreaded vengeance of imaginary powers may be equally effectual with the fear of the axe and halter. The certainty of this vengeance was firmly

6 Iliad, xvi. v. 385.

7 It is not humanity, but the fear of the gods, that is mentioned as the reaſon by Telemachus for not ſending away his mother. Odyſſ. 2.

8 Ἀριστον δεῖπνον δορπον.

9 The king of the Phæacians does not detain Ulyſſes longer than he chooſes, leſt he ſhould offend the gods, Odyſſ. viii. See alſo the behaviour of Ulyſſes and Telemachus, in the cottage of Eumæus, Odyſſ. xiv. and xvi.

eſtabliſhed

eſtabliſhed in the Grecian creed; and its operation was ſuppoſed to be ſo immediate and palpable, that it was impoſſible for the inattention of men to overlook, or for their addreſs to elude its force [10]. The daring violations of the ſacred law [11] were ſpeedily overtaken by manifeſt marks of the Divine diſpleaſure. "The inſolence and violence "of the corrupted youths," ſays Homer [12], "cried "aloud to heaven, whoſe decrees were ſoon exe-"cuted by the avenging hands of Ulyſſes." The judgments inflicted on guilty communities were ſo familiar to the minds of men, that the poet introduces them by way of ſimilies [13]; and it is evident from his writings throughout, that every important event, proſperous or adverſe, which happened either to individuals or to nations, appeared to the pious reſignation of the Greeks, the reward of their religion and virtue, or the puniſhment of their irreligion and vice [14]. The merit of the father was often

10 See the firſt book of Heſiod's poem "Of Works and Days," throughout: and particularly

Ω Περση συ δ' ακουε δικης μηδε ὑβριν οφελλε, from v. 110 till v. 242: and again,

Τονδε γαρ ανθρωποισι νομον διεταξε Κρονιων, from v. 274 till v. 291.

11 Θεμιστας διος. Homer, paſſim. 12 Odyſſ. i.

13 See a beautiful example of this, Iliad xvi. v. 385. The expreſſion of Heſiod is remarkable:

Παντα ιδων Διος οφθαλμος, και παντα νοησας
Και νυ ταδ', αικε εθελησι, επιδερκεται, &c.

"The eye of Jove, that beholds all, and obſerves all, looks upon "theſe tranſactions, when he pleaſes; nor does it eſcape his notice "what kind of juſtice is rendered in the city."

14 The ſucceſs of the Greeks againſt Troy proves both parts of the propoſition. All the misfortunes of the Grecian chiefs were inflicted

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often acknowledged in the protection of the ſon; and the crimes of a guilty progenitor were often viſited on his deſcendants to the third and fourth generation [15].

Theſe obſervations are confirmed, not only by the writings of Homer and Heſiod throughout, but by almoſt every page of Herodotus, of Pindar, as well as of the Greek tragedians and hiſtorians; and yet they ſeem to have eſcaped the notice of ſome of the moſt ingenious inquirers into the opinions of antiquity. The authority of Greek writers ſtrongly oppoſes two ſyſtems, which have been ſupported with great ability, and which have gained conſiderable credit in the world. The firſt, that the religion of the ancients had little or no connection with morality: the ſecond, that the governments of Greece could not have been ſupported

as puniſhments. Oilean Ajax was ſlain for his preſumption, by Neptune (Odyſſ. iv.); and Ajax, the ſon of Telamon, was a memorable example of the fatal effects of the ſame vice. When Minerva offered him her aſſiſtance, he deſired her to go to others, for the enemy would never attempt to penetrate where Ajax fought. Before his departure for Troy, Telamon prayed that the gods would give valour to his ſon; when the proud ſon, aſpiring above the condition of humanity, ſaid, That any man might be brave and victorious by the aſſiſtance of the gods; for his part, he expected to obtain glory by his own merit; the gods puniſhed him with madneſs, and, after expoſing him to the ridicule of his enemies, made him fall by his own hands. See the Ajax of Sophocles, from v. 760 to v. 800.

15 Minerva protected Telemachus on account of his father's merit. Odyſſ. paſſim. The misfortunes of the royal families of Thebes and Argos, deſcribed in the tragedies of Æſchylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, abundantly prove the truth of the laſt obſervation.

without

without the doctrine of a future ſtate [16]. The connection between religion and morality is clearly aſſerted in the various paſſages to which we have had occaſion to allude; and the belief of a future ſtate of retribution cannot, according to the principles of the learned author of the Divine Legation of Moſes, be reckoned neceſſary to the government of men, who are fully perſuaded of the actual and immediate interpoſition of Divine wiſdom and juſtice, to regulate, by temporal rewards and puniſhments, the affairs of the preſent life [17].

[16] See Hume's Natural Hiſtory of Religion, and Warburton's Divine Legation of Moſes. The eleventh book of the Odyſſey, which the ancients called the Νεκυομαντεια, is the obſcureſt, and, in my opinion, the leaſt agreeable part of Homer. The ghoſts are all condemned to a melancholy and dreary ſtate; even the greateſt heroes are very miſerable and dejected; and there is not any mention of the place of reward for the virtuous. Homer ſpeaks of the Elyſian fields but once (Odyſſey, iv. ver. 563.). Proteus tells Menelaus, that he is not *deſtined to die at Argos*, and that the gods would ſend him εις Ηλυσιον πεδιον και πειρατα γαιης; ſo that, if the language is not metaphorical, Homer's Elyſium was only a delicious ſpot on this earth, and ſituated, according to Strabo's conjecture, on the ſouthern coaſt of Spain. Strabo, l. iii. Ulyſſes (Odyſſ. ii. ver. 600.) ſees the image of Hercules in Tartarus, but the hero himſelf, as the poet informs us, was feaſting with the immortal gods. I have never met with any intelligible explanation of this paſſage, the abſurdity of which appeared a proper ſubject of ridicule to Lucian, in Diogen. & Hercul.—Heſiod's Elyſium is more agreeable.

[17] The gods, indeed, are ſometimes engaged in very unwarrantable tranſactions; but theſe are only means to compaſs ſome wiſe and juſt end, which the will of providence, the διος βουλη, or fate, had previouſly determined. Examples alſo may be brought from Homer, of men attempting to obtain, by coſtly ſacrifices, the aſſiſtance of the gods in acts of injuſtice and cruelty. This muſt be allowed to be an inconſiſtency in Grecian ſuperſtition, or rather in the paſſions which gave it birth.

As

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Origin of the gods of Greece

As this perſuaſion had ſuch general and happy effects on the manners of the Greeks, it may be proper to conſider its origin, and to deſcribe more particularly the nature and genius of the ſuperſtition to which it gave birth: a ſuperſtition which, two thouſand years after loſing its imaginary authority over the uſeful occupations of men, ſtill preſerves a real power over their moſt elegant amuſements.

not explained in hiſtory.

It belongs not to the deſign of this work to ſearch for the mythological tenets of Greece in the opinions of other nations: a ſubject of inquiry upon which much learned conjecture and much laborious ingenuity have already been very laudably, but I fear not very ſucceſsfully, employed [18]. By the dim light of etymology and tradition, and the deceitful glare of legend and fable, inquiſitive men have endeavoured to trace the corrupted ſtreams of Pagan worſhip to the pure fountain of the Jewiſh diſpenſation [19]. But the majeſty of Jehovah is very feebly repreſented by the united power of Homer's divinities: and the mythology of the Greeks is of ſuch a peculiar texture, that, whenceſoever origi-

[18] Bochart's Geograph. Bryant's New Analyſis. Fourmant, Le Clerc, de la Pluche, &c. Their doctrine is oppoſed in the extraordinary work of Vico Neapolitano, entitled "Principi di Scienza "nuova d'intorno alla comune Natura delle Nazione." The third edition of this work was publiſhed at Naples in 1744.

[19] The general doctrine of providence, the rebellion in heaven, the ſtate of innocence, the fall of man, atonement by ſacrifice, a future ſtate of retribution, for which the preſent life is only preparatory: all, or ſome of theſe tenets, are found in the traditions of all nations, Greeks and Barbarians. See Heſiod, Oper. & Di. ver. 110. and ver. 165. and Theog. ver. 725. and ver. 220.

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nally derived, it muſt have undergone a particular modification in the Grecian ſoil; nor is it eaſy to concur with the opinion of writers who bring it immediately from Egypt, Chaldea, or Leſſer Aſia, when we conſider that there is not the ſmalleſt veſtige in Homer of the judicial aſtrology which prevailed ſo ſtrongly in the two firſt [20], or of the worſhipping of idols, which almoſt univerſally predominated in the laſt [21].

Philoſophic account of it.

The difficulty of giving ſuch an hiſtorical deduction of the Grecian faith as would not be expoſed to innumerable objections, obliges us to trace its origin in the natural paſſions of the human heart, the hopes, the fears, the wants, the miſery of man, which have in all ages rendered him a prey to the terrors of ſuperſtition [22]. This miſerable paſſion, which, in the civiliſed countries of modern Europe, operates only at diſtant intervals, and chiefly in the unfortunate moments of diſeaſe and danger, maintains a conſtant and uninterrupted power over the minds of Barbarians. The diſproportionate force of the ſame principle among rude and among civiliſed men, is aſcribed by a common proverb to the groſs ignorance of the former; but it may, with more propriety perhaps, be deduced from their precarious and unhappy manner of life, the continual dangers to which their exiſtence is expoſed, and the dreadful calamities in which the

[20] Diodorus Sicul. l. ii. Exod. chap. vi. Plin. l. xxx.

[21] The Old Teſtament, paſſim.

[22] Παντες δε θεων χατεεσι ανθρωποι—"All men ſtand in need of "the gods." Hom. Odyſſey, iii.

whole

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whoſe ſociety is too frequently involved[23]. Even among poliſhed nations, the power of reaſon and philoſophy, however highly it may be extolled when the gentle current of life flows with placid tranquillity, always proves too feeble to reſiſt the mountain torrent and the ſtorm of winter. Under the preſſure of ſudden or inextricable calamity, all thoſe, who are not more or leſs than men, have recourſe to the immediate aſſiſtance of inviſible powers; and in the ſplendid abodes of wealth and power, as well as in the American village or Tartar horde, the æra of a famine, a peſtilence, or an earthquake, is marked by ſincere expreſſions of faith, and commemorated by ſignal monuments of piety[24].

The great pillar of ſuperſtition, raiſed by the anxious paſſions of men, was fortified in Greece by a circumſtance incidental to all nations at a certain ſtage of their political progreſs. There is a period when nations emerging from barbarity, but not yet corrupted by the narrow purſuits of avarice, not yet ſoftened by the mean pleaſures of luxury, or contracted by the dangerous refinements of a ſelfiſh philoſophy, enjoy a peculiar ſenſibility of character, which exerts itſelf in the ardour of ſocial affection, and ſtrengthens, by a

[23] Δυσυχιας επιτασις και σωτηριας απογνωσις ευχη θειον. Schol. in Homer. Tum præcipuus votorum locus eſt, cum ſpei nullus eſt. Plin. l. viii. c. 16.

[24] In moſt men, true religion itſelf muſt, from the nature of human paſſions, have the greateſt, becauſe an undivided, influence over the mind, in ſeaſons of inextricable calamity.

thouſand

thouſand aſſociations, their belief of inviſible and intelligent powers. To men, thus diſpoſed to wonder and to believe, whatever dazzles the imagination, announces the preſence of a deity; dreams and celeſtial appearances are deemed ſacred and infallible admonitions; the ſilence and thick ſhade of a foreſt fills the ſoul with religious awe; and perſons, diſtinguiſhed by juſtice and piety, eaſily perſuade themſelves and others, that, as the beloved favourites of heaven, they are frequently honoured with holy inſpirations, and ſometimes indulged with the viſible preſence and happy intercourſe of their Divine protectors [25]. Not only the religion but the ancient language and manners of Greece, ſufficiently atteſt the exiſtence of this exceſſive ſenſibility, which, in thoſe early times, gave an eaſy victory to the indulgent powers of fancy, over the ſevere dictates of reaſon.

The nature of the gods.

The nature, the characters, and the occupations of the gods, were ſuggeſted by the lively feelings of an ardent, rather than by the regular invention of a cultivated, mind. Theſe celeſtial beings were

[25] Pauſan. (in Arcad.) calls them ξενοι και ὁμοτραπεζοι, gueſts and *companions at the ſame table*. Plutarch, in his Treatiſe on Muſic, cites as authorities Anticles and Iſtros, two ancient authors, who wrote concerning the apparitions of the gods. All that has reached the preſent times reſpecting this curious ſubject, is collected in a diſſertation of John Gottlob Nimptſch (Leipſic, 1720), in which he treats of the number of the divinities who appeared moſt commonly to men; of the form under which they appeared; the uſual time, and general cauſes, of their appearing, and the ordinary circumſtances accompanying it. See alſo Memoires de l'Academie, vol. ix, Mem. ſur les Mœurs des Siècles Heröiques.

ſubject

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ſubject to the blind paſſions which govern unhappy mortals. Their wants, as well as their deſires, were ſimilar to thoſe of men. They required not the groſs nouriſhment of meat and wine, but they had occaſion to repair the waſte of their etherial bodies by nectar and ambroſia; and they delighted in the ſteam of the ſacrifices, which equally gratified their ſenſes and flattered their vanity [26]. The refreſhment of ſleep was neceſſary to reſtore their exhauſted ſtrength [27], and with the addition of a ſuperior, but limited degree of power, and wiſdom, and goodneſs, the gods of the heroic ages were nothing more than immortal men.

What was wanting in the dignity and perfection, was ſupplied by the number of the gods [28]. Homer only deſcribes the principal and reigning divinities; but Heſiod, who gives the genealogical hiſtory of this fanciful hierarchy, makes the whole number amount to thirty thouſand. Among theſe, every virtue had its protector, every quality of extenſive power in human life had its patron, and every grove and mountain and river its favourite inha-

[26] Theſe obſervations naturally reſult from Homer; but the doctrine of ſacrifices, as expiations for crimes, ſo univerſally diffuſed over the ancient and modern world, would perhaps ſtill merit the examination of an able divine.

[27] Mercury ſays to Calypſo, he would not have fatigued himſelf by travelling over ſuch a length of ſea and land, without a very powerful reaſon. Odyſſ.

[28] Fragilis & laborioſa mortalitas in partes iſta digeſſit, infirmitatis ſuæ memor, ut portionibus quiſquis coleret, quo maximè indigeret. Plin. ii. 7.

bitants.

bitants. Twelve divinities[29] of ſuperior rank preſided over the active principles of the univerſe, and the leading virtues of the mind: but even theſe diſtinguiſhed beings were ſubject to the unrelenting power of vengeance[30] and the fates[31], "who "purſue the crimes of men and gods, and never "ceaſe from their wrath till they have inflicted "juſt puniſhment on the guilty ſons of earth and "heaven[32]."

Particular effects of the Grecian religion.

The materials which fancy had created, poetry formed into beauty, and policy improved into uſe. The creed of the Greeks, thus adorned and enlarged, became the happieſt antidote againſt the furious reſentment, the ſavage cruelty, and the fierce ſpirit of ſullen independence, which uſually characterize the manners of Barbarians[33]. Yet theſe dreadful paſſions ſometimes forced their way through every mound which wiſdom had erected in order to oppoſe their courſe. Laws ſacred and profane were feeble barriers againſt the impetuoſity of their rage. The black vengeance of the heart was exerted in deeds of horror. The death of an enemy could not ſatisfy their inhuman cruelty.

[29] The Roman religion was mere plagiariſm, ſo that Ennius might well tranſlate two lines of an ancient Greek poet, which includes the names of the principal divinities of Greece and Italy:

Juno, Veſta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars,
Mercurius, Jovi, Neptunus, Vulcanus, Apollo.

ENNIUS apud Apuleium.

[30] Νεμεσις [31] Aſchyl. Prom. Vinct. v. 515, & ſeq.

[32] Heſiod. Theog.

[33] Impiger iracundus inexorabilis acer
Negans jura ſibi facta, nihil non arrogans armis— HORAT.
will be found the general character of all barbarous nations.

They

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They burned with deſire to drink his hated blood, to devour his quivering limbs, and to expoſe his mangled remains to indignities equally odious and abominable in the ſight of gods and men [33]. The powerful influence of religion was directed againſt the wild exceſſes of this ſanguinary temper. The brave Tydeus loſt for ever the protection of his adored Minerva by a ſingle act of ſavage ferocity. Humanity was inculcated by every precept of reaſon, and enforced by the ſtrongeſt motives of hope and fear. It was a firm article of belief, that hands ſtained with blood, even in the exerciſe of honourable war, were unworthy, till purified by luſtration, to be employed in the moſt ordinary functions of ſacred worſhip [34].

Their peculiar excellence.

It would require a volume completely to illuſtrate the ſalutary effects of this ancient and venerable ſuperſtition, which was diſtinguiſhed above moſt other falſe religions, by the uncommon merit of doing much good, without ſeemingly occaſioning any conſiderable harm to ſociety. The Grecian tenets, while they inculcated profound reſpect to the gods, tended not to break the ſpirit, or to repreſs the courage, of their warlike votaries. The ancient heroes addreſſed their heavenly protectors in an erect poſture, with the unfeigned ſincerity of manly freedom. They expected to avert the calamities threatened by the anger of their divinities, not by inflicting on themſelves

33 See Iliad, iv. ver. 35. Iliad, xxii. ver. 347. Iliad, xxiv. ver. 212.

34 Homer, paſſim.

ſuch

ſuch tortures as could be acceptable only to the mean reſentment of weak and wicked beings, but by repairing the wrongs which they had committed againſt their fellow-citizens, or compenſating, by new attentions, for the neglect ſhewn to the ceremonies of their national worſhip. In *their* eſtimation, the doing of injuries to men, and the omitting of prayer to the gods, were the principal cauſes of the Divine diſpleaſure; the incurring of which, being juſtly conſidered as infinitely greater than all other misfortunes, they were ſolicitous to avert it, not only by an exact performance of external rights, but by a diligent practice of moral duties. The dangerous power of oracles, the abuſed privileges of aſylums, the wild raptures of prophetic enthuſiaſm, the abominable ceremonies of the Bacchanalia, and the horrid practice of human ſacrifice, circumſtances which cover with deſerved infamy the later periods of paganiſm, were all unknown to the good ſenſe and purity of the heroic ages; nor is there to be diſcovered the ſmalleſt veſtige of any of theſe wild or wicked inventions either in the writings of Homer, or of his contemporary Heſiod.

The amiable ſimplicity of their religious ſyſtem was communicated to the civil and military inſtitutions of the Greeks, to the laws of nations as well as to the regulations of internal policy, and to the various duties of domeſtic as well as of ſocial life. The ſentiments of natural reaſon, ſupported by the ſuppoſed ſanction of Divine authority, generally directed the conduct of men in the wide

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variety of theſe complicated relations; and from one great and luminous principle, deeply impreſſed on the mind, there reſulted an uniform ſyſtem of unaffected propriety of conduct, the contemplation of which will always be agreeable to every taſte that is not perverted by the falſe delicacy of artificial manners, or the illiberal prejudices of national vanity. In order to give the clearer explanation of the ſeveral parts of this beautiful ſyſtem, we ſhall examine the political, the civil, and the domeſtic condition of the Greeks; that is, the relation of the governors to the governed, and of the governed to each other, whether conſidered as ſubjects of the ſame ſtate, or as branches of the ſame family. We ſhall combine the effect of theſe relations with that of the ordinary occupations and favourite amuſements of this celebrated people, and from the whole endeavour to deduce the general eſtimate of their virtues and defects, of their happineſs and miſery.

Political ſtate of the Greeks during the heroic ages.

The common obſervation, that power follows property, though not altogether correct [35], affords perhaps the beſt ſuccedaneum to written laws, for determining the real ſtrength and influence of the different members of ſociety. If we examine by this rule the policies of the heroic ages, we ſhall find that they deſerve the title of republics, rather than that of monarchies. When a warlike tribe

35 The ſame property poſſeſſed by one, or by a few, confers much greater political conſideration and influence, than it would confer, if diffuſed among the multitude.

ſallied

ſallied from its woods and mountains, to take poſſeſſion of a more fertile territory, the ſoldiers fought and conquered, not for their leaders, but for themſelves [36]. The land acquired by their united valour was conſidered as a common property. It was cultivated by the joint labour and aſſiduity of all the members of the tribe, who aſſembled at a public table, celebrated together their religious rites, and, at the end of harveſt, received their due ſhares of the annual produce of the ground, for the maintenance of their reſpective families [37]. Superior opulence gave not to one a title to deſpiſe another, nor was there any diſtinction known among them, but what was occaſioned by the difference of perſonal merit and abilities. This difference, however, had naturally raiſed a chief or leader to the head of each ſociety; the frequent neceſſity of employing his valour, or his wiſdom, rendered his merit more conſpicuous and more uſeful; and his ſuperior uſefulneſs was rewarded, by the gratitude of his tribe, with a valuable portion of ground [38], ſeparated from the common property. This was cultivated, not by the hands of his martial followers, who laboured only for the community, but by the captives taken in war, of whom a conſiderable portion were always beſtowed on the

[36] The Odyſſey furniſhes innumerable proofs of the limited power of kings. Ulyſſes, on moſt occaſions, puts himſelf on an equal footing with his followers. It is commonly decided by lot, whether he ſhall be one of thoſe who undertake any adventure attended with fatigue and danger. Odyſſ. paſſim.

[37] Iſocrat. in Archidam.

[38] Iliad, l. xii. ver. 310.

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general[39]. Being accuſtomed to command in the field, and to direct the meaſures, as well as to decide the quarrels, of his aſſociates, he naturally became the judge of their civil differences; and, as the peculiar favour of the gods always accompanied ſuperior virtue, he was alſo inveſted with the honourable office of preſiding in their religious ſolemnities. Theſe important functions of prieſt, judge, and general, which had naturally been conferred on the beſt and braveſt character of each particular tribe, were, upon the union of ſeveral tribes into one ſtate, or nation, conferred on the beſt and braveſt of all the different leaders. Before the various ſtates of Greece had united in a general confederacy, the reſources derived from the domains appropriated to the prince (which, unleſs there was ſome particular reaſon to the contrary, were tranſmitted to his deſcendants), had enabled the ſeveral kings and leaders to extend their influence and authority. Their comparative power and ſplendor depended not entirely on the merit of perſonal abilities, but reſulted in part from the extent and value of their poſſeſſions: and Agamemnon was appointed to the command of combined Greece, as much on account of his ſuperior opulence, as of his many princely qualities[40]. But whether we examine the pre-eminence that Agamemnon enjoyed over the other

39 In the deſcription of the ſhield of Achilles, Homer clearly diſtinguiſhes the domain of the king from the land of the community. Iliad, xviii. ver. 542.

40 Thucydid. l. i.

princes

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princes of the confederacy, which is fully explained in the Iliad, or the authority with which each prince was inveſted in his own dominions, which is clearly illuſtrated in the Odyſſey, or the influence of a warlike chief over the ſeveral members of his tribe, which we have already endeavoured to delineate, we ſhall every where diſcover the limited power of kings, and the mild moderation of mixed government. As in the general confederacy, the council[41] of princes regulated the reſolves of the monarch, and the voice of the aſſembly[42] ruled that of the council; ſo in each particular kingdom, the deciſions of the ſenate prevailed over the will of the prince, and the acknowledged majeſty of the people[43] controuled the deciſions of the ſenate[44]. If we deſcend ſtill lower, we ſhall find the ſame diſtribution of power in every particular village[45], which afforded a picture, in miniature, of a kingdom, while a kingdom itſelf afforded a ſimilar picture of the whole confederacy.

41 In matters of importance, Agamemnon is generally determined by the council of chiefs, many of whom, on various occaſions, treat him with little reſpect.

42 It is referred to the general aſſembly, whether it would be better to return to Greece, or to proſecute the ſiege of Troy. Iliad, ii. ver. 110. See alſo Ariſt. Ethic. l. iii. c. v.

43 Several of the nobles of Ithaca even aſpired to the crown. Odyſſ. 21.

44 In the Odyſſey, Telemachus threatens to appeal to the public aſſembly, of the injuſtice of the ſuitors, among whom were the principal nobles of Ithaca.

45 Plutarch in Theſeo. Odyſſ. ibid.

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Their civil regulations.

The ſame ſimplicity which regulated the political ſyſtem, maintained the civil rights of the Greeks. As the price of ſubmitting to the reſtraints of ſociety, a man was ſecured in the enjoyment of his life and property[46]; his moveables were equally divided, at his death, among his deſcendants; and the unnatural right of primogeniture, which, in order to enrich the eldeſt ſon, reduces the reſt of the family to want and miſery, was altogether unknown to the equal ſpirit of the Grecian inſtitutions[47]. Cauſes reſpecting property were decided by the firſt magiſtrate, or by judges of delegated authority. The proſecution of murderers belonged to the relations of the deceaſed; they might accept a compenſation in money for the loſs which the family had ſuſtained[48]; but if this was not tendered them by the criminal, or if their reſentment was too violent to admit of any ſuch compoſition, they were entitled to the aſſiſtance of all the members of their tribe, who either puniſhed the murderer by death, or compelled him to leave the ſociety[49]. Theſe uſages, doubtleſs, prove the ideas of the Greeks, concerning criminal juriſdiction, to have

46 Iliad, xii. Pind. Pyth. Ode iv.

47 Odyſſ. xiv. If there were no children, the neareſt relations, by the father's ſide, divided the moveable property: αποφθιμενου δε δια κτησιν δατεονται χηρωσαι. Heſiod. Theogon. The ſame obſervation is made by Homer, Iliad, v.; but there is no mention of ſucceſſion to land or immoveable property.

48 Iliad, ix. Ajax blames the obſtinacy of Achilles, who refuſes ſuch compenſation for an affront, as a man ſometimes accepted for the murder of a ſon or a brother.

49 There are examples of this in the 14th, 15th, and 23d Iliad.

been

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been very rude and imperfect: but this diſadvantage was in ſome meaſure compenſated by their ignorance of thoſe legal cruelties, which in civilized nations are too frequently exerciſed, under the ſpecious pretence of juſtice. "In later times," ſays Thucydides, "puniſhments became more "ſevere, but crimes were not, on this account, "leſs frequent." The powerful or wealthy offender (he might have added) frequently eluded the vengeance of thoſe ſevere laws; whereas in the heroic ages, there was not any reſpect of perſons, princes themſelves being ſubject to the ſame moderate penalties [50], which were juſtly inflicted on their offending ſubjects.

Regulations reſpecting the duties of domeſtic life.

The perfection of civil and political inſtitutions, which was produced in Greece by the influence of religion, is found in moſt countries to be proportional to their improvements in arts, and their attainments in knowledge; while the happy effects of domeſtic union are frequently moſt conſpicuous among rude and ſimple nations. The reciprocal duties of the governor and governed, as well as the mutual obligations of ſubjects, are gradually unfolded and enlarged by the progreſſive ideas of utility; but the tender connections of huſband and wife, of father and ſon, of brothers

[50] Thus Midon, the brother of Ajax, was obliged to fly to Phylace, Il. xv. Patroclus, for a ſimilar offence, took refuge with the father of Achilles, Il. 23. Pauſanias (in Eliac.) gives examples of the ſame kind in two kings of the Ætolians; and theſe facts are agreeable to the nature of the kingly office in the heroic ages, as deſcribed by Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, l. ii. Hiſt. Rom.

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and kinſmen, excite, without reflection, the warmeſt feelings of the heart, and at once inſpire the affectionate ſentiments of love and friendſhip, of kindneſs and gratitude. The dictates of nature alone ſufficiently maintain the duties which correſpond to the ſeveral relations of blood; her voice is ſtrong and poſitive, in aſſerting *their* obligation; and there is greater danger that theſe ſacred ties ſhould be weakened, or perverted, by the artificial refinements of poliſhed life, than that their influence ſhould continue altogether unknown, or be feebly felt, in the early periods of ſociety.

Agreeably to theſe obſervations, we find in the hiſtory of the heroic ages, the moſt intereſting pictures of conjugal love, of parental affection, and of filial duty. Theſe ſentiments, ſuggeſted by nature, and confirmed by reaſon, were ſtill farther ſtrengthened by the precepts of religion; and their force, thus augmented, became ſo ſtrong and irreſiſtible, that it can ſcarcely be conceived by men, among whom faſhion, and vanity, and intereſt, have uſurped the place of more generous and manly principles.

The comforts of a family were anciently conſidered as equal to the benefits derived from ſocial union. To be deſtitute of the one, was deemed no leſs miſerable than to be deprived of the other. And the total baſeneſs of a man's character was expreſſed by ſaying, that he deſerved not to enjoy the rights of a citizen, the protection of a ſubject, or the happineſs of domeſtic life [51].

[51] Αφρηνωρ αθεμιστος ανεστιος εστι εκεινος. Iliad, paſſim.

Marriage

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Marriage.

Marriage was a neceſſary ſtep in order to attain this happineſs, and the inſtitution of marriage was aſcribed by remote tradition to the bounty of the gods. The Greeks of the heroic ages, among whom the rights of weakneſs and beauty were as warmly protected as they afterwards were ſhameleſsly inſulted by their degenerate deſcendants, celebrated the conjugal union with all the pomp of religious feſtivity. The joyous band, carrying the nuptial torches, marched in pomp through the city, to the ſound of the hymeneal ſong[52]; the luſtral waters were drawn from the ſacred fountain Calliroe, and many revered ceremonies rendered the connection of huſband and wife equally reſpectable and binding[53].

Adultery was conſidered as a crime of the blackeſt dye, and is always mentioned with the ſame horror as murder. Perſons guilty of theſe atrocious enormities *purchaſed* impunity[54]; and more frequently eſcaped death, by voluntary baniſhment; but in many caſes they were puniſhed by the united vengeance of the tribe which had received the injury. Second nuptials were not abſolutely forbidden; but ſo ſtrong and ſacred was the matrimonial tie, that even the death of one of the parties was ſcarcely thought ſufficient to diſſolve it; and the ſurvivor, by entering into a new connection, ſuffered a dimi-

[52] Iliad, l. xxiii.

[53] Thucydides, l. ii. Meurſius Feriæ Græcæ, and the authors there cited.

[54] Odyſſ. viii.

nution

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nution of fame, and ſubmitted to a conſiderable degradation of character [55].

Rank of women in the heroic ages.

Two circumſtances chiefly have rendered it difficult to explain the rank and condition of women in the heroic ages. The Greek word denoting a wife, is borrowed from a quality which equally applies to a concubine, and the ſame term is uſed indifferently to expreſs both. But the women who in ancient Greece ſubmitted to the infamy of proſtitution, were generally captives taken in war, who were reduced by the cruel right of arms to the miſerable condition of ſervitude. Hence it has been erroneouſly inferred, that in ancient Greece, wives as well as concubines were the ſlaves of their huſbands. This miſtaken notion, it has been attempted to confirm, not only by inſiſting on the humiliating condition of the fair-ſex in the later ages of Greece, but by expreſsly aſſerting, that, in ancient times, they were purchaſed by their huſbands [56]. But this is to ſupport one error by another. Before entering into the ſtate of wedlock, it was cuſtomary for a man to make a mutual exchange of preſents with his intended father-in-law. The Greeks had particular terms to expreſs the preſent which he beſtowed, as well as that which he received [57]. The former, which has no correſponding term in the modern languages, is tranſ-

55 Penelope was reſtrained from marrying a ſecond huſband: αἰδομένην υἱὸν πῶϊον, δήμιόν τε φῆμιν. Il. xv.

56 Lord Kaimes's Sketches, Thomas ſur la Condition des Femmes, &c.

57 Εδνα.

lated

lated by the more general word "price," which has given riſe to the falſe notion of the purchaſe and ſervitude of women; but the latter, which may with propriety be tranſlated "dower[58]," was given as a proviſion for the wife, both during marriage and after its diſſolution[59], and was ſufficient to deliver her from that ſuppoſed ſtate of dependence on the huſband, which never had any exiſtence but in the imagination of the ſyſtematic writers of the preſent age.

In the modern countries of Europe, women are generally excluded from the ſerious occupations of life, but admitted to an equal ſhare in its gayeſt amuſements. During the heroic ages, they were not abſolutely debarred from the former, although it was impoſſible to aſſociate their natural delicacy and timidity to the warlike labours and pleaſures which formed the principal employments of their huſbands. The intercourſe between the ſexes, therefore, was leſs frequent and general, than would ſuit the refined ſoftneſs of modern manners.

Their occupations and amuſements.

The attention of women was chiefly confined to domeſtic cares, or to the practice of ſuch arts as required neither ſtrength, nor courage, nor wiſdom, but only the patient exertions of mechanical dexterity[60]. Our natural reſpect for the honour of the ſex is offended at hearing them as much

[58] Προιξ.

[59] Odyſſ. ii. Telemachus ſays, that if his mother ſhould be ſent from the houſe, he would be obliged to return her dower to her father Icarius.

[60] Homer, paſſim.

extolled

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extolled for their ſkill in the labours of the loom, as for their beauty and virtue; but it deſerves to be conſidered, that weaving and embroidery being, like all other arts, leſs extenſively diffuſed in Greece than in improved commercial countries, were on this account more highly valued, and therefore better adapted to confer diſtinction on thoſe who excelled in them. They were practiſed by ladies of the higheſt rank, and even by queens, who alſo thought it an honour to be entruſted with the education of their children, till they became fit for the ſociety of their fathers [61]. Beſides theſe employments, the women were permitted to join in celebration of religious rites and ceremonies, and many of them were conſecrated to the ſervice of particular divinities [62]. In the ſeaſons of public feſtivity, they mixed more freely than on ordinary occaſions in the ſociety of the other ſex. This was ſometimes attended with ſuch inconveniencies as might naturally be expected to ariſe in conſequence of the uſual reſtraints impoſed on their behaviour. "The beautiful Polymela," ſays Homer [63], "dancing in the chorus of Diana, was "embraced by Mercury; but ſhe had no ſooner "brought forth a ſon, than one of the principal "citizens offered her his hand." The inſtitutions of the heroic ages promoted, with admirable

[61] Thus, Thetis educated Achilles. Heſiod ſays poetically, that in the age of ſilver, the children continued, during an infancy of an hundred years, under the care of their mothers.

[62] Theano was prieſteſs of Vulcan, &c. Iliad. [63] Iliad, xvi.

propriety,

propriety, the modeſt reſerve of women, while they permitted not one excuſable error to cover an amiable character with indelible infamy. The crime of having too tender an heart was not deemed inexpiable; and, as the conſequences of female weakneſs were imputed to the affectionate ardour of ſome amorous divinity, they were ſo far from obſcuring the charms of beauty, that they adorned it with new graces and more conſpicuous ſplendor.

Conjugal love.

The ſimplicity of the ancient Greeks was equally remote from the cruel tyranny of ſavages, which condemns women to ſervitude, and the intereſted refinement of luxury and vice, which regards them as mere inſtruments of pleaſure. The natural equality between the ſexes, ſuggeſted by the voice of ſentiment, aſſerted by the dictates of reaſon, and confirmed by the precepts of religion, produced the moſt delicate affections that can inſpire a ſuſceptible heart: hence thoſe moving ſcenes ſo admirably delineated by Homer, which retrace the moſt perfect image of domeſtic felicity; hence thoſe pleaſing pains, thoſe anxious ſolicitudes of tenderneſs and love, which frequently degenerate into melancholy preſages of the loſs of an union to which nothing was wanting but that it ſhould prove immortal[64].

Parental affection.

The ſentiments of parental affection were proportionably ſtrong and ardent with thoſe of conjugal love. The mutual tenderneſs of the huſband

[64] See the interview of Hector and Andromache, and other examples. Iliad, ix. and Odyſſ. vi.

and

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and wife was communicated to their offspring; while the father viewed in his child the charms of its mother, and the mother perceived in it the manly graces of its father. Independently of the delicacy of ſentiments, there are, doubtleſs, in all countries, ſavage and civilized, innumerable inſtances of paternal kindneſs, which, indeed, is the moſt ſimple and natural expanſion of ſelf-love. But in the heroic ages alone, we find ſincere and complete returns of filial duty. In the loweſt ſtate of ſavage life, men are, for the moſt part, little acquainted with this reſpectful affection: they fear and obey, but without any mixture of love, thoſe who are wiſer and ſtronger than themſelves. When they become wiſe and ſtrong in their turn, they diſregard the trembling hand that reared their tender years, or if any faint emotions of gratitude are feebly felt, they diſcover them in the prepoſterous kindneſs of delivering their aged parents from what appears from their own juvenile impatience the wretched load of life [65]. Among nations, on the other hand, who are ſunk in the corruptions incident to exceſſive luxury and refinement, the ties of nature are perverted or effaced; the young deſpiſe the admonitions, and avoid the company of the aged; and the duties as well as the buſineſs of ſociety, are degraded into a miſerable traffic of intereſt or pleaſure. But as the Greeks had emerged from the melancholy gloom of the firſt ſituation, and had not yet declined into the foul

Duties of children.

[65] Voyage du Pere Charlevoix. Laſitau Mœurs des Sauvages.

vapours of the second, they displayed the meridian splendor of the domestic virtues[66]. The reverence of children for their parents approached their veneration for the gods. The most violent and impetuous heroes submitted, without reluctance, to the severest dictates of paternal authority. In such delicate concerns as might seem to affect themselves alone, they relinquished their favourite inclinations, disavowed any will of their own, and committed their dearest concerns to the experienced wisdom and known goodness of their fathers. The amiable expressions of filial respect were extended into a more general sentiment of regard for the infirm and aged. Even among brothers who were nearly of the same age, the younger was obliged to yield in every instance to the elder; and it was an acknowledged principle of religion, that the Furies defended, by their stern authority, the sacred rights of superior years[67].

Occupations of the Greeks during the heroic ages.

The occupations of the ancient Greeks, whether of war or peace, were, for the most part, directed by the same sacred influence which governed their behaviour in the various relations of domestic and social life. War was their principal employment; and in the field they both displayed their noblest qualities, and discovered the greatest defects of their character. They were unacquainted

State of the military art among them.

66 There is, perhaps, no other language that can express, without a circumlocution, what the Greeks meant by θρεπτα, the obligations of children to repay the maintenance, the education, and the tender cares of their parents.

67 Πρεσβυτεροις ἐριννυες αιεν ἑπονται. Homer, passim.

with

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with thoſe diſciplined evolutions which give harmony and concert to numerous bodies of men, and enable whole armies to move with the activity and addreſs of ſingle combatants. What was wanting in ſkill they ſupplied by courage. They marched to the field in a deep phalanx, ruſhed impetuouſly to the attack, and bravely cloſed with their enemies. Each warrior was firmly buckled with his antagoniſt, and compelled by neceſſity to the ſame exertions of valour, as if the fortune of the day had depended upon his ſingle arm. Their principal weapon was the ſpear reſembling the Roman pilum, which, thrown by the nervous and well-directed vigour of a ſteady hand, often penetrated the firmeſt ſhields and bucklers. When they miſſed their aim, or when the ſtroke proved ineffectual through want of force, they drew their ſwords, and, ſummoning their utmoſt reſolution, darted impetuouſly on the foe. This mode of war was common to the ſoldiers and generals, the latter being as much diſtinguiſhed in the day of action by their ſtrength and courage, as by their ſkill and conduct. The Greeks had bows, and ſlings, and darts, intended for the practice of diſtant hoſtility; but the uſe of theſe weapons, which were much employed in the military paſtimes of the heroic ages, was confined in the field to warriors of inferior renown[68]. Their defenſive armour was remarkably complete: a bright

[68] Teucer is more than once upbraided in the Iliad as a vain archer.

helmet, adorned with plumes, covered the head and face, a firm corſlet defended the breaſt, greaves of braſs deſcended to the feet, and an ample ſhield, looſely attached to the ſhoulders, turned in all directions, and oppoſed its firm reſiſtance to every hoſtile aſſault. CHAP. II.

The effect of their military regulations on manners.

The cloſe compact combats of the Greeks were fitted to excite the moſt furious paſſions of the heart, and to embitter national animoſity by perſonal hatred and revenge. A battle conſiſted of ſo many duels, which exaſperated to the utmoſt the hoſtility of the contending parties; each ſoldier knew the antagoniſt from whom he had received, or on whom he had inflicted the ſevereſt injuries. They fought with all the keenneſs of reſentment, and often ſullied the honours of victory by thoſe licentious cruelties which are too natural to men in the giddy moment of triumph over a deteſted adverſary.

It is partly to this unfortunate circumſtance, and partly to the ancient mode of appropriating the warlike plunder to thoſe who firſt acquired it, that we are to aſcribe the ſhocking enormities which were ſometimes committed by the braveſt and moſt generous of the Grecian chiefs.

Laws of war,

That the ſeverities exerciſed towards the conquered proceeded not from the barbariſm of the age, and an ignorance of the rights of humanity, is plain from the obſervances deemed neceſſary, in order to obtain the favour of the gods, in carrying on any military expedition, or in enjoying the fruits of victory. Theſe obſervances, which were

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confirmed by the laws of nations among the Greeks, were practiſed before the commencement of hoſtilities, during their continuance, and after their concluſion. Before any war could be lawfully undertaken, it was neceſſary to diſpatch ambaſſadors, who might explain the injury that had been done, demand immediate and complete ſatisfaction, and if this was refuſed, denounce in form the reſolution of their community, to proſecute its claim by force of arms [69]. After they had begun to execute their fatal purpoſe, the characters of heralds, thoſe ſacred miniſters of kings, were equally reſpected by friends and foes. They travelled in ſafety through the midſt of embattled hoſts, proclaimed to the ſilent warriors the commiſſions with which they were entruſted, or demanded a truce for burying the dead, which could not be refuſed without enormous impiety [70]. The uſe of poiſoned weapons [71] was forbidden, under pain of the divine diſpleaſure. It was agreeable to the will of the gods that the life ſhould be ſpared, when a ſufficient ranſom was promiſed [72]. And after a treaty of peace was concluded between hoſtile nations, without any apparent ratification but the honour of the contracting parties, the perfidious wretches who betrayed the ſanctity of their engagements, were devoted, amidſt

69 See chap. i. p. 43. 70 Homer, paſſim.

71 Ilus refuſed Ulyſſes poiſoned arrows, ſince he revered the immortal gods,

Επει νεμεσιζετο θεους κιεν ουτας. Odyſſ.

72 Iliad, i. Ibid. vi. 24.

ſolemn

ſolemn ſacrifices and libations, to the fury of the terrible goddeſſes[73].

Arts of peace.

From the arts of peace, the Greeks had acquired the neceſſaries, and procured the accommodations, but had not obtained the luxuries of life. Paſturage and agriculture ſupplied them with the moſt indiſpenſable articles of food, and with the principal materials of clothing. The implements of huſbandry were extremely imperfect; the plough itſelf, the moſt uſeful of them all, being compoſed entirely of wood[74], which aroſe rather from the ſcarcity of iron, than from any defect of mechanical ingenuity[75]. They employed, in the time of Heſiod, the invention of ſhears, for depriving the ſheep of their wool, having formerly waited the ſeaſon of its annual ſeparation by nature[76]. Barley was the principal produce of their fields, and furniſhed the ordinary food both of men and of horſes. The invention of mills was unknown, and the grain underwent ſeveral tedious operations, in order to facilitate the bruiſing of it between two large ſtones with the hand[77]. Although the Greeks cultivated the olive, they were unacquainted with the benefit derived from the fruit of this plant, ſo well adapted to cheer the melancholy gloom of night[78]. The Grecian ſoil

State of agriculture.

73 Iliad, iii. 74 Heſiod, Oper. & Dies. 75 Homer, paſſim.
76 Heſiod, ibid. 77 Plin. l. xviii. c. xiv.

78 The Greeks had not diſcovered any other contrivance for that purpoſe, than the burning of great fires of wood. The torches mentioned by Homer conſiſted of branches of any reſinous tree, ſplit at the end, and lighted at the fire. Odyſſ. l. vi. ver. 307. l. xviii. ver. 306. & ver. 309.

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was naturally favourable to the grape; but the long and operoſe proceſs by which the juice of it was ſeparated and prepared, rendered wine ſcarce and dear [79].

Mechanic arts.

Of the mechanic arts, weaving was the beſt underſtood; yet this, as well as all the other profeſſions which are qualified by the appellation of ſedentary, were practiſed by the Greeks ſtanding upright [80]; which ſeems to indicate an imperfect ſtate of improvement. The hatchet, wimble, plane, and level, are the tools mentioned by Homer, who appears to have been unacquainted with the ſaw, the ſquare, and the compaſs [81]. The art of cutting marble, which afterwards furniſhed Grecian ingenuity with the materials of thoſe inimitable productions which are ſtill the wonder of the world, was as yet undiſcovered; nor did the poliſhed luſtre of this valuable ſtone adorn the habitations of the Greeks [82].

Fine arts. Architecture.

Homer mentions not the orders of architecture, which were invented in a later age; and pillars are the only ornaments aſſigned to the edifices which he deſcribes. The houſes of the great were ſurrounded by a wall, and conſiſted of two floors; the lower of which was diſtributed into four apartments, which we have tranſlated by the names of

79 Odyſſ. l. vii. ver. 122.

80 Euſtach. in Iliad, i. ver. 31.

81 Odyſſ. l. v. ver. 234, &c.

82 In the place of Alcinous, which ſhone with gold, ſilver, braſs, and amber, there is no mention of marble. Odyſſ. l. iv. ver. 72.

hall,

hall[83], portico, antichamber, and bedchamber, which expreſs the ſame relative ſituation, rather than any other point of reſemblance. The roofs were flat, and the doors opened towards the ſurrounding wall, while the gates of the wall itſelf opened towards the road or ſtreet[84]. The invention of enamelled metals had been cultivated with ſingular ſucceſs; and though painting, properly ſo called, was rude and unformed during the age of Homer, the genius of the divine poet has deſcribed the rudiments of his kindred art with ſuch graces as would adorn[85] its moſt refined ſtate of perfection.

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Painting.

[83] Ἡ ταξις ουτως; ερκος περι ὁ πυλαι, μετα δε το ερκιον αυλη, μετα ταυτην, αιθουσα, ὁ προδομος, και θαλαμος. Pollux Onomaſt.

[84] Odyſſ. l. i. ver. 441.

[85] The nobler kinds of painting are all illuſtrated in the ſhield of Achilles; and each picture diſcovers a wonderful degree of *invention*, *expreſſion*, and *compoſition*. Iliad, xviii. Perrault and Terraſſon, who thought it impoſſible to place ſo many pictures in the circumference of a ſhield, were anſwered by Boivin, who ſuppoſed a great many concentric circles. This opinion was adopted by Pope, who pretends that all the branches of painting, even aerial perſpective, may be found in Homer's ſhield. "That he was no ſtranger to aerial "perſpective, appears from his expreſsly marking the diſtance from "object to object," &c. But this obſervation only proves that Pope, who practiſed painting, was little acquainted with the theory of that art; ſince aerial perſpective has nothing to do with the diminution of objects in proportion to their diſtance, and relates entirely to the changing and weakening of colours, according to the condition of the medium through which they are ſeen. The objections of Perrault and Terraſſon, and the concentric circles of Boivin, are equally frivolous. The ſhield of Homer contains, in fact, but ten pictures. The enumeration by the particles μεν and δε fixes the number. But the poet not only deſcribes theſe ten pictures actually repreſented on the ſhield, but alſo mentions their antecedents and conſequents. This is the chief ſuperiority of poetical imitation above painting, that it can deſcribe, in a few pages, what many galleries of pictures could not repreſent. But of this more hereafter.

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perfection. Muſic was much practiſed among the early Greeks. It was not of the learned kind, and therefore the better adapted to touch the heart. The effects aſcribed to it are wonderful, but not incredible, becauſe the ancient muſic was not merely an agreeable ſucceſſion of melodious, unmeaning ſounds, but an imitation and a heightening of the ſimple, natural, and pathetic tones and cadences of a beautiful and expreſſive language [86].

Muſic.

Sciences.

In the heroic ages men had neither leiſure nor inclination to attend to the ſpeculative ſciences. All the knowledge that they poſſeſſed or eſteemed was of the practical kind. From arithmetic they learned ſuch ſimple calculations as ſuited the narrow ſphere of their tranſactions. Aſtronomy taught them to obſerve the conſtellations moſt neceſſary to direct the adventurous courſe of the mariner: but their navigation was ſtill ſo imperfect that they ſeldom abandoned the coaſts; and the only ſtars mentioned by Homer, are the Great and Little Bear, the Pleiades, the Hyades, Orion, and the Dog Star. The metaphyſics, ethics, and politics of the ancient Greeks have been explained under the article of religion, from which they were originally derived, and with which they long continued to be inſeparably connected. The main objects propoſed in the education of the young warriors were, that they ſhould learn to excel in the military exerciſes of the age, eſpecially thoſe of

Educa-tion.

[86] Odyſſ. iii. ver. 267, & paſſim. This ſubject will be treated fully hereafter.

throwing

throwing the lance and of driving the chariot, and to command the attention of the ſenate, or aſſembly, by delivering their opinion in a perſpicuous, elegant, and manly ſtyle [87].

Ordinary amuſements of the Greeks during the heroic ages.

It was not only in the council and in the field that theſe ſuperior accompliſhments ſolicited and obtained their well-merited rewards. Each community preſented, in time of peace, the picture of a large family. The Greeks lived in continual ſociety with their equals, enjoyed common pleaſures and amuſements, and had daily opportunities of diſplaying their uſeful talents in the ſight of their fellow-citizens. The frequent diſputes between individuals occaſioned litigations and trials, which furniſhed employment for the eloquence and abilities of men, in the neceſſary defence of their friends. The funeral games, and thoſe celebrated in commemoration of ſeveral important events, both of a civil and ſacred kind, opened a continual ſource of entertainment. There the young and vigorous contended in the rapid race; wielded the maſſy cæſtus or ponderous quoit; and exerted equal efforts of ſtrength and ſkill in the other manly exerciſes which confirm the vigour of the body, and the fortitude of the mind. Nor were the aged and infirm allowed to languiſh for want of proper objects to rouſe their emulation, to flatter their pride, and to employ their remaining activity. It belonged to them to offer their wiſe counſels, to interpoſe their reſpected autho-

[87] Μυθων τε ρητηρ εμεναι πρηκτηρα τε εργων.

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rity, and to decide the quarrels, as well as to determine the merit, of the young candidates for fame. The applauſe and rewards beſtowed on him whoſe counſels and deciſions were moſt generally approved, conſoled the weakneſs of his declining years, while his rivals, though diſappointed for the preſent, expected, on ſome future occaſion, to obtain the ſame honourable marks of the public eſteem[88].

Eſtimate of the Grecian manners and character during the heroic ages.

After this general review of the Grecian manners and inſtitutions, ſhould we endeavour to eſtimate their value, they would probably riſe in our eſteem, by being compared, either with the rude cuſtoms of ſavage life, or with the artificial refinements of poliſhed ſociety. The Greeks had advanced beyond that uniform inſipidity of deportment, that ſullen ferocity of manners, and that hardened inſenſibility of heart, which univerſally characteriſe the ſavage ſtate. They ſtill poſſeſſed, however, that patient intrepidity, that noble ſpirit of independence, that ardent attachment to their friends, and that generous contempt of pain and danger and death, which render the deſcription of the wild tribes of America ſo intereſting to a philoſophic mind. Of two principal enjoyments of life, ſtudy and converſation, they were little acquainted, indeed, with the conſolations and pleaſures of the firſt, the want of which was compenſated by the ſincerity, the confidence, the charms of the ſecond. Their ſocial affections were leſs comprehenſive in

[88] Iliad, xviii. Ibid. xxiii.

their

their objects, but more powerful in their effects, than those of polished nations. A generous chief rushes to certain death, to revenge the cause of his friend; yet refuses to the prayers of an aged parent the melancholy consolation of interring the remains of his favourite son; till the corresponding image of his own father strikes his mind, and at once melts him to pity[89]. The imaginary wants and artificial passions which are so necessary to urge the hand of industry, and to vary the pursuits of men, in improved commercial societies, were supplied to the Greeks by that excessive sensibility, which interested them so deeply in the affairs of their community, their tribe, their family, and their friends, and which connected them by the feelings of gratitude even with the inanimate objects of nature. As they were not acquainted with the same diversity of employments, so neither were they fatigued with the same giddy round of dissipated pleasures which augment the splendid misery of later times. Though ignorant of innumerable arts which adorn the present age, they had discovered one of inestimable value, to render the great duties of life its most entertaining amusement. It will not, perhaps, be easy to point out a nation who united a more complete subordination to establish authority with a higher sense of personal independence, and a more respectful regard to the dictates of religion with a more ardent spirit of martial enterprize. The

[89] Iliad, xxiv.

generous

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generous quality of their political eſtabliſhments, and their fancied intercourſe with the gods, conſpired to raiſe them to a certain elevation of character which will be for ever remembered and admired. This character was rendered permanent in Sparta, by the famous laws commonly aſcribed to the invention of Lycurgus, but which, as will appear in the ſubſequent chapter, were almoſt exact copies of the cuſtoms and inſtitutions that univerſally prevailed in Greece during the heroic ages.

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Diſtracted State of Greece.—The Heracleidæ conduct the Dorians into Peloponneſus.—Divide their Conqueſts in that Peninſula.—The Eolic, Ionic, and Doric Migrations.—Eſtabliſhment of Colonies in Thrace, Macedon, Africa, and Magna Græcia.—Influence of the Ionic Colonies in Aſia on the Affairs of the Mother Country.—The Abolition of Monarchy in Greece.—New Diſorders in that Country.—Four inſtitutions which tended to remove them.—The Amphyctyonic Council.—The Oracle of Delphi.—The Olympic Games.—The Spartan Laws.

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State of Greece after the Trojan war.

GREECE triumphed over Troy, but it was a melancholy triumph. The calamities of war were followed by diſaſters at ſea, by diſcord among the chiefs, by ruin to the confederacy; yet theſe evils were leſs afflicting than the inteſtine animoſities and ſedition excited by the licence of the people, and fomented by the ambition of the nobles during the long and unfortunate abſence of their kings. The victorious Agamemnon had ſcarce ſet foot on his native land, when he was cut off by an adulterous ſpouſe and a perfidious aſſaſſin[1]. His ſon Oreſtes found protection in Athens againſt the reſentment of an uſurper. In

[1] Odyſſ. l. i, ver. 29.

the

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the eighth year of his exile he returned with his partiſans, and took juſt vengeance on the abominable Egyſtheus and Clytemneſtra [2]. He reigned in Argos, but with far leſs glory than his father; nor did that kingdom ever thenceforth aſſume its ancient pre-eminence.

Weakneſs of that country during the four ſucceeding centuries. From A.C. 1184 till 776.

The wanderings and woes of Ulyſſes are too well known to be deſcribed [3]. His patient fortitude regained the kingdom of Ithaca, but not without wading through the blood of his moſt illuſtrious ſubjects [4]. If hiſtory minutely recorded the domeſtic feuds which prevailed in other ſtates, it would probably exhibit a diſguſting picture of fraud and cruelty, and a continual repetition of ſimilar crimes and calamities would equally fatigue the attention, and offend the humanity, of the modern reader. But though it would be neither entertaining nor uſeful to deſcribe the particular and tranſitory conſequences of theſe diſorders, it is of importance to remark their general and laſting tendency to prolong the weakneſs of Greece; whoſe obſcure tranſactions, during the four following centuries, ill correſpond with the ſplendor of the Trojan, or even of the Argonautic, expedition.

Hiſtory of that period obſcure.

The hiſtory of this long period is very confuſedly and imperfectly related by ancient authors, and the chronology is throughout very inaccurately aſcertained; yet ſuch events as are either intereſting in themſelves, or had any permanent influence on the

[2] Odyſſ. l. iii. ver. 196. and ver. 305, & ſeq.
[3] Odyſſ. paſſim. [4] Odyſſ. l. xxii. ver. 290, & ſeq.

memorable

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memorable ages of Greece, which form the ſubject of the preſent work, may be clearly explained, and reduced to a narrow compaſs. In order to preſerve an unbroken narrative, we muſt conſider three ſeries of events, which naturally followed each other, and which all tended to the ſame goal. In this view, we ſhall firſt examine the migrations of different tribes or communities within the narrow bounds of Greece; ſecondly, the eſtabliſhment of new colonies in many diſtant parts of Europe as well as of Aſia and Africa; and thirdly, the internal changes produced in the ſeveral ſtates, by their adopting, almoſt univerſally, the republican, inſtead of the monarchical, form of government[5]. In the fluctuation of theſe commotions, we muſt then ſeek for the ſeeds of order and ſtability, and endeavour to trace, amidſt extenſive migrations, general revolutions, and unceaſing hoſtilities, the origin and improvement of thoſe ſingular inſtitutions which tended to unite, to poliſh, and to adorn the ſcattered and ſtill ſpreading branches of the Grecian race through every part of the world.

Diviſion of the ſubject.

The migrations, which ſoon followed the Trojan expedition, are mentioned but not explained by hiſtorians. Their general cauſe may be diſcovered in Homer, whoſe poems, no leſs inſtructive than agreeable, can alone enable us to travel with equal ſecurity and pleaſure in the dark regions of Grecian antiquity. Domeſtic diſſenſion, and, ſtill more, the unſettled tenure of landed property, as deſcribed

Migrations of the Hellenic tribes or communities.

5 Velleius Patercul. l. i.

by

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by that immortal poet, naturally engaged the Grecian tribes, notwithſtanding their acquaintance with agriculture, often to change their reſpective habitations. The idea of a ſeparate property in land is the principal tie which binds men to particular diſtricts. The avarice of individuals is unwilling to relinquiſh the fields, which it has been the great object of their induſtry to cultivate and to adorn, and their pride is averſe to a ſeparation from their hereditary eſtabliſhments. Theſe paſſions, which cover the black heaths and inhoſpitable mountains of the north with fair and populous cities, while far more inviting regions of the earth ſtill remain deſtitute of inhabitants, could not have much influence on a people, who regarded land as the property of the public, rather than of individuals. In ſuch a nation, men are connected with the territory which they inhabit, only as members of a particular community, and when expoſed to any ſlight inconvenience at home, or allured by fairer proſpects from abroad, they iſſue forth with one accord to acquire, by their united valour, more ſecure or more agreeable ſettlements. Governed by motives of this kind, a tribe of Bœotians, ſoon after the Trojan war, ſeized the rich vale of Theſſalian Arné. The ſame reſtleſs ſpirit urged a warlike band of Theſſalians to quit the ſeats of their anceſtors. The new emigrants poured down with irreſiſtible violence on the unprepared Bœotians, who were thus reluctantly compelled, ſixty years after the taking of Troy,

In the north of Greece. A.C. 1124.

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Troy, to rejoin their brethren in the ancient kingdom of Cadmus [6].

The descendants of Hercules conduct the Dorians into the Peloponnesus. A.C.1104.

Twenty years after this event, a more extensive migration totally changed the affairs of the Peloponnesus; and, in its consequences, gave new inhabitants to the whole western coast of Asia Minor. The rival families of Perseus and Pelops anciently contended for the dominion of the Grecian peninsula. The fortune of the Pelopidæ prevailed; but their superiority led them rather to persecute, than to forgive, their enemies. The descendants and partisans of the great Hercules, the most illustrious hero of the Perseid line, were divested of their possessions, and driven into banishment. The exiles were first received by the Athenians, whose more humane, or more enlarged policy, rendered Attica, ever since the reign of Theseus, the ordinary resource of the miserable [7]. Their leader Hyllus was afterwards adopted by Epalius, the aged king of Doris; and the death of their benefactor soon made the Heracleidæ masters of that mountainous province [8]. But the wilds of Oeta and Parnassus were little fitted to satisfy men, whose ancestors had enjoyed far more valuable possessions. Their natural ambition was long repressed by the growing greatness of the Pelopidæ, and the glory of Agamemnon. After the unexpected disasters of that prince, they twice attempted, unsuccessfully, to break through the Corinthian isthmus, and to

[6] Thucydid. l. i. p. 9 and 10. Diodor. l. iv. Strabo, l. ix. p. 630. Pausan. l. ix. c. xl.

[7] Lysias Orat. Funeb.

[8] Strabo, l. ix. p. 427.

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recover their ancient dominion in Argos and Lacedæmon [9].

Their auxiliaries in that enterprise.

Inſtructed by paſt miſcarriages, Temenus, Creſphontes, and Ariſtodemus, deſcendants in the fifth degree from Hercules, finally abandoned the hopeleſs deſign of entering the Peloponneſus by land. But determining to uſe every exertion for regaining their hereditary eſtabliſhments, they ſet themſelves, with great induſtry, to prepare tranſports in a convenient harbour, at the northern extremity of the Corinthian gulph, which, in conſequence of this tranſaction, received, and thenceforth retained, the name of Naupactus. The warlike and rapacious Ætolians, whoſe leader Oxylus was nearly related to the family of Hercules, readily aſſiſted their labours, with a view to ſhare the booty that might accrue from the expedition. The Dorians, who inhabited the neighbourhood of mount Pindus, cheerfully deſerted the gloomy ſolitude of their woods, in order to ſeek poſſeſſions in a more agreeable and better cultivated country. Animated by theſe reinforcements, the Heracleidæ redoubled their diligence. All neceſſary preparations were made for the invaſion; yet their confidence in arms excluded not the uſe of artifice. By ſecret intrigues they gained a party in Lacedæmon; and, before ſetting ſail, they prudently detached a body of light armed troops, whoſe appearance at the Iſthmus drew the ſtrength of the enemy towards that quarter [10]. Meanwhile their armament was

They take poſſeſſion of five provinces in that peninſula.

9 Herodot. l. ix. c. xxvi. Apollodor. l. iii. c. v. & vi.
10 Pauſan. l. ii. c. xviii.

carried

carried by a favourable gale towards the eaſtern coaſt of Peloponneſus. The Heracleidæ landed their followers without oppoſition, and aſſailed the defenceleſs territories, to which they had long laid claim, comprehending the whole peninſula, except the central province of Arcadia, and the maritime diſtrict of Achaia. The five other provinces were conquered at the ſame time, though by different means. Laconia was betrayed to the invaders [11]; Argos acknowledged their authority; Corinth, Elis, and Meſſenia ſubmitted to their arms. The revolution was complete, and effected with little bloodſhed, but not without great oppreſſion of the ancient inhabitants, many of whom emigrated, and many were reduced to ſlavery [12]. CHAP. III. A.C.1104.

The Heracleidæ, agreeably to the cuſtom of that age, divided their new acquiſitions by lot. The kingdom of Argos fell to the ſhare of Temenus; Creſphontes obtained Meſſenia; and, as Ariſtodemus then happened to die, Laconia was ſet apart for his infant ſons, the twin-brothers, Euryſthenes and Procles. Corinth was beſtowed on their kinſman Aletes; and Elis given to Oxylus, their brave Ætolian ally [13]. This diſtribution, however, referred only to the royal dignity, then extremely limited, and to an appropriated domain to the ſeveral princes in their reſpective allotments. The reſt of the territory was divided among the warlike Diviſion of their conqueſts.

[11] Strabo, l. viii. p. 365.

[12] Herodot. l. vi. c. lii. Polyb. l. ii. p. 178. Strabo, l. viii. p. 383. Pauſan. Argolic. & Iſocrat. Panathen.

[13] Pauſan. ibid.

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Dorians and Ætolians, who had conquered for themſelves, not for their leaders [14]; and who, having over-run, without oppoſition, the fineſt provinces of the Peloponneſus, could not willingly return to lead a life of hardſhip and miſery on their native mountains.

Fate of the expelled princes of thoſe countries.

Before this important revolution, Argos and Lacedæmon were ſubject to Tiſamenus, grandſon of Agamemnon; Meſſenia was governed by Melanthus, a deſcendant of the celebrated Neſtor. Theſe princes had not ſo far degenerated from the glory of their anceſtors, as to ſubmit to become ſubjects in the countries where they had long reigned. On the firſt falſe alarm of invaſion occaſioned by the appearance of light troops at the Iſthmus, Tiſamenus and Melanthus had taken the field with the flower of the Argive and Meſſenian nations. But while they prepared to repel the expected inroads from the north, they received the melancholy intelligence that their kingdoms had been attacked on another ſide, on which they thought them ſecure. Inſtead of returning ſouthward to diſpoſſeſs the Heracleidæ, an enterpriſe too daring to afford any proſpect of ſucceſs, Tiſamenus turned his arms againſt the Ionians, who inhabited the ſouthern ſhore of the Corinthian gulph. An obſtinate battle was fought, which proved fatal to Tiſamenus; but his followers obtained a deciſive victory, and, having expelled or enſlaved the ancient inhabitants, took [15] poſſeſ-

The followers of Tiſamenus conquer Achaia.

[14] Iſocrat. in Archidam. [15] Pauſan. & Strabo, ibid.

ſion

ſion of that valuable province, ſo famous in later times under the name of Achaia. Melanthus enjoyed better fortune. Accompanied by his faithful Meſſenians, he reſorted to Attica, then engaged in war with the neighbouring kingdom of Bœotia. The Bœotian prince propoſed to decide the conteſt by ſingle combat. Thymætes, though deſcended from the heroic Theſeus, declined the challenge. Melanthus accepted it, prevailed in the conflict, and the ſceptre of the depoſed Thymætes was his reward [16].

Melanthus becomes king of Attica.

The fermentation occaſioned in Greece by ſo many expulſions and migrations, expanded itſelf through the iſlands and coaſts of Aſia Minor. Many Peloponneſian fugitives, who beheld with indignation the calamities inflicted on their country, flocked to the ſtandard of Penthilus [17], a younger brother of Tiſamenus, who had taken refuge in Eubœa. Others followed the banners of Cleues and Malaus [18], alſo deſcendants of Agamemnon. The partizans of all theſe princes having unſucceſsfully traverſed the northern parts of Greece in queſt of new ſettlements, finally yielded to the dictates of their enterpriſing ſpirit, croſſed the Helleſpont eighty-eight years after the taking of Troy, and eſtabliſhed themſelves along the ſhore of the ancient kingdom of Priam. They gradually diffuſed their colonies from Cyzicus on the Propontis to the mouth of the river Hermus [19]; which

The Eolic migration. B.C. 1096.

[16] Strabo, l. 9. p. 393. Herodot. l. v. c. lxv.
[17] Strabo, l. ix. p. 402. [18] Idem, l. xiii. p. 582, & ſeq.
[19] Idem, ibid. & Herodot. l. i. c. cli.

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delightful country, together with the iſle of Leſbos, thenceforth received the name of Eolis or Eolia, to denote that its inhabitants belonged to the Eolian branch of the Hellenic race [20].

Rivalſhip between the Ionians and Dorians.

Conſequences ſtill more important reſulted from the expulſion of the Achæans by the followers of Tiſamenus. The ancient inhabitants of Achaia, being themſelves Ionians, took refuge with their kinſmen in Attica. The Meſſenian fugitives under Melanthus had ſought protection in the ſame country. The Athenians readily accepted theſe new acceſſions of ſtrength, being inſpired with a well-founded jealouſy of the Dorian conquerors of Peloponneſus, whoſe ambition early produced that memorable rivalſhip between the Doric and Ionic race, which ſubſiſted to the lateſt times of the Grecian republics [21]. In the reign of Codrus, ſon of Melanthus, the Dorians had already encroached on the Athenian frontier, and ſeized the territory of Megara, on the northern coaſt of the Saronic gulph [22]. Iſſuing from their ſtrong holds in that rocky diſtrict, from which it was long impoſſible to diſlodge them, they haraſſed the Athenians in a cruel war, concerning which a ſuperſtitious rumour prevailed, that they ſhould finally remain conquerors, provided they abſtained from injuring the perſon of the Athenian king. Codrus, hearing the report, was inſpired with the ſpirit of heroiſm congenial to his family. Diſguiſing himſelf in the habit of a peaſant, he proceeded to the quarters of,

A.C.1089.

Codrus devotes himſelf to death for his country.

20 Herodot. l. i. c. cli. 21 Herodot. Thucydid. & Diodor. paſſim.
22 Strabo, l. ix. p. 393.

the enemy; inſulted a Dorian ſoldier; a combat enſued; Codrus fell[23]; his body was recogniſed; and the ſuperſtitious Peloponneſians, now deſpairing of ſucceſs, ſuſpended their hoſtilities. The inimitable merit of a prince, who had devoted himſelf to death for the ſafety of his country, furniſhed the Athenians with a pretence for aboliſhing the royal authority. None of the human race, they declared, was worthy to ſucceed Codrus; and none but Jupiter ſhould thenceforth reign in Athens[24]. Medon, the eldeſt ſon of that admired prince, was appointed firſt magiſtrate of the republic, under the humbler title of archon. His brothers Neleus and Androclus, probably diſſatisfied with theſe tranſactions, determined to leave their country. Their deſign was approved by the Achæan and Meſſenian refugees, and by many Athenian citizens, who complained that Attica was too narrow and barren to maintain the encreaſing numbers of its inhabitants. The reſtleſs ſpirits in Phocis, Bœotia, and other neighbouring provinces, eagerly joined the emigrants. They ſailed to Aſia Minor, expelled the ancient inhabitants, a mixed race of Lydians, Carians, and Pelaſgi, and ſeized the central and moſt beautiful portion of the Aſiatic coaſt[25]. Their colonies were gradually diffuſed from the banks of the Hermus to the promontory of Poſideion. They afterwards took poſſeſſion of Chios and Samos; and all theſe

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A.C.1068. Royalty aboliſhed in Athens.

The Ionic migration. A.C.1055.

[23] Pauſan. l. vii. c. xxv. Juſtin. l. ii.
[24] Pauſan. l. vii. c. ii. [25] Herodot. l. i. c. cxlii.

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countries were united by the common name of Ionia, to denote that the Ionians compoſed the moſt numerous diviſion of the colony[26].

Greek colonies eſtabliſhed in Macedon, Thrace, Africa, Magna Græcia, &c.

During the ſame turbulent ages, inteſtine ſedition, foreign invaſion, or the reſtleſs ſpirit of adventure and rapine, occaſioned other important extenſions of Grecian colonization. The moſt numerous colonies occupied the iſles of the Ionian and Ægean ſeas, the ſouthern coaſt of Italy almoſt interſected by the former, and the winding ſhores of Aſia Minor[27] ſo beautifully diverſified by the latter. The larger iſlands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Cyprus, were very anciently planted by Greeks. While the Hellenic ſtock puſhed forth theſe vigorous ſhoots towards the eaſt and weſt, very conſiderable branches extended towards the north and ſouth. The maritime parts of Epirus, Macedonia, and Thrace, themſelves abounding in Greek ſettlements, poured forth new colonies along the European ſhores of the Propontis and Euxine[28]: and emigrants from the Peloponneſus having early eſtabliſhed themſelves on the oppoſite coaſt of Africa, were gradually diffuſed from the confines of Egypt to the Syrtic gulph[29]. The hiſtory of all theſe colonies, ſome of which rivalled in arts, and others in arms, the glory of the mother country, will merit our attention, in proportion

[26] Strabo, l. xiv. p. 632. & ſeq. Pauſan. l. vii. c. ii.

[27] Thucydid. l. i. & Strabo, paſſim.

[28] Herodot. l. ii. & l. 4.

[29] Herodot. l. iv. c. cxlvii. Strabo, l. x. & l. xvii.

as

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as they emerge from obſcurity; and take a ſtation in the general ſyſtem of Grecian politics.

The Doric migration. A.C. 944.

The Aſiatic Greeks, whoſe affairs firſt became intimately connected with thoſe of the mother country, received a conſiderable acceſſion of ſtrength in conſequence of the renewal of hoſtilities between the Athenians and Dorians. The latter were finally expelled from many of their ſtrong holds in Megara. Diſdaining after this misfortune to return into the Peloponneſus, many of them ſailed to the iſlands of Rhodes and Crete, already peopled by Doric tribes; while others tranſported themſelves to the peninſula of Caria, which, in honour of their mother country, received the name of Doris [30].

View of the Aſiatic colonies.

In conſequence of this eſtabliſhment, which was formed two hundred and forty years after the Trojan war, the weſtern coaſt of Aſia Minor was planted by the Eolians in the north, the Ionians in the middle, and the Dorians in the ſouth. Theſe original diviſions of the Hellenic race retained in their new ſettlements the peculiarities of accent and dialect, by which they had been reſpectively diſtinguiſhed in Europe [31]; and which, at the time of their ſeveral emigrations, prevailed in Bœotia, Attica, and Lacedæmon. The Bœotians and Lacadæmonians, who claimed the firſt honours, the one of the Eolic, and the other of the Dorian name, adhered, with little variation,

Diſtinction of dialects.

[30] Strabo, & Pauſan. & Herodot. l. viii. c. lxxiii.

[31] Heraclid. Pont. apud Athenæum, l. xiv.

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to their ancient dialects: but the Athenians, more ingenious, or fonder of novelty, made ſuch conſiderable alterations in their writing and pronunciation, as remarkably diſtinguiſhed them from their Ionian brethren; and thus the ſame language came to be modified into four ſubdiviſions [32], or dialects, which may be ſtill recognized in the invaluable remains of Grecian literature.

Peculiar advantages of the Ionian colonies.

Of all theſe innumerable colonies, the Ionians will demand our earlieſt and moſt ſtudious attention. They ſettled in a country of great extent and fertility, enjoying the moſt delicious climate, and peculiarly adapted to a commercial intercourſe with the moſt improved nations of antiquity. Favoured by ſo many advantages, they ſilently flouriſhed in peace and proſperity, till their growing wealth and numbers excited the avarice or the jealouſy of the powers of Aſia. They were ſucceſſively conquered by the Lydians and Perſians, but never thoroughly ſubdued. Having imbibed the principles of European liberty, they ſpurned the yoke of Aſiatic bondage. In their glorious ſtruggles to re-aſſume the character of freemen, they ſolicited and obtained the aſſiſtance of their Athenian anceſtors, and occaſioned that memorable rivalſhip between the Greeks and Perſians, which, having laſted two centuries, ended in the deſtruction of the Perſian empire. In this illuſtrious conteſt, the firſt ſucceſſes of the Greeks againſt enemies far more powerful, and incomparably more numerous than themſelves, inſpired

Their influence on the affairs of their European anceſtors.

[32] Strabo, l. viii.

them

them with an enthuſiaſm of valour. Their exploits merited not only praiſe, but wonder [33], and ſeemed fit ſubjects for that hiſtorical romance, which, in the progreſs of literature, naturally ſucceeds to epic poetry.

Connection of this hiſtory.

The writers who undertook to record and to adorn the trophies of Marathon and Platæa, had occaſion to look back to the tranſactions of more remote times. But in taking this retroſpect, *they* diſcovered, or at leaſt *we* may diſcover by their works, that their enquiries began too late to afford much authentic information on that important ſubject. Yet, imperfect as their relations neceſſarily are, they ſerve to explain by what concurrence of favourable circumſtances and cauſes the Greeks adopted thoſe ſingular inſtitutions, acquired that ſenſe of national honour, and attained thoſe virtues of policy and proweſs, which enabled them, by the moſt ſplendid ſeries of exploits recorded in hiſtory, firſt to reſiſt, then to invade, and finally to ſubdue the monarchy of Cyrus.

Abolition of monarchy in Greece.

During the prevalence of thoſe generous, though romantic opinions, which characteriſed the heroic ages, the authority of kings was founded on religion, ſupported by gratitude, and confirmed by utility. While they approved themſelves worthy miniſters of heaven, they were entitled to due and

[33] Τα ἐργα μεγαλα και θαυμαστα. Herodot. p. 1. The exploits which he relates, ſtill more than his manner of relating them, render the work of Herodotus the intermediate ſhade between poetry and hiſtory, between Homer and Thucydides.

hereditary

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hereditary honours [34]; but in the exerciſe of the regal office, they were bound to reſpect the rights, the ſentiments, and even the prejudices of their ſubjects. The fatal dictates of ambition and avarice led them to tranſgreſs the preſcribed limits, and to trample on thoſe laws which their predeceſſors had held ſacred [35]. The minute diviſion of landed property, which had already taken place, not only, as above mentioned, in the Peloponneſus, but in the northern provinces of Greece, rendered the nobles and people more ſenſible of theſe encroachments, which they muſt at once boldly reſiſt, or ſubmit for ever to the yoke of oppreſſion. Reduced to this alternative, the Greeks were inclined by diſpoſition, and enabled by ſituation, to prefer and to maintain the moſt honourable part. The prerogatives of royalty were not as yet ſupported by the excluſive right of the ſword, by which a particular claſs of men might intimidate and controul the reſolutions of their fellow-ſubjects. The more independent and illuſtrious citizens, who had been accuſtomed from the earlieſt times to come armed to the council or aſſembly, communicated their grievances, and took proper means to remove them [36]. Miltas, the fourth Argive prince in ſucceſſion to Temenus, was condemned to death for uſurping abſolute power. Monarchy expired more honourably in Attica; it periſhed ſtill more diſgracefully in Arcadia, but was gradually aboliſhed in every province of

34 Επι ρητοις γεραϲι πατριϰαι Βαϲιλειαι. Thucydid. l. i.
35 Thucydid. l. i. p. 10.
36 Ariſtot. Polit. l. iv. c. 13.

Greece,

Greece, except Sparta alone, from the ſouthern extremity of Peloponneſus to the northern frontier of Theſſaly [37].

Accumulated diſorders in that country.

The important, though remote conſequences of this revolution, will be explained in the ſequel. Its immediate tendency ſerved only to multiply the evils which it was deſigned to remedy. Greece, oppreſſed by its kings, was ſtill more oppreſſed by its archons, or magiſtrates [38]; and, already too much divided under the ancient government, was ſtill more ſubdivided under the new form of polity. Many inferior cities diſdained the juriſdiction of their reſpective capitals. Several of them affected ſeparate and independent ſovereignty. Each town, each diſtrict, maintained war with its neighbours; and the fanciful ſtate of nature, according to the philoſophy of Hobbes, was actually realized in that diſtracted country [39]

Circumſtances which tended to remove them.

From theſe accumulated diſorders, which ſeemed ſcarcely capable of augmentation, it is time to turn our view to thoſe events and cauſes which operated in a contrary direction, and gradually introduced union and happineſs. The Dorian conqueſt of Peloponneſus, otherwiſe productive of much confuſion and bloodſhed in that peninſula, greatly extended, however, the ſalutary influence of the Amphictyonic council. In the northern parts of Greece, this inſtitution, which had been originally intended to prevent foreign invaſion,

The authority of the Amphictyonic council extended.

37 Thucydid. l. i. p. 10. Plut. in Solon.

38 Ariſtot. Polit. l. iv. c. 13.

39 Thucydid. ibid.

had

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had been found equally uſeful in promoting domeſtic concord. The Dorians being conſtituent members of the council, continued to attend its meetings after they had ſettled beyond the mountainous iſthmus of Corinth. The provinces which they conquered gradually aſſumed the ſame privilege. The Amphictyons thus became a repreſentative aſſembly of the whole Grecian name, conſiſting not only of the three original tribes of Ionians, Dorians, and Eolians, but of the ſeveral ſubdiviſions of theſe tribes, and of the various communities formed from their promiſcuous combination[40]. Each independent ſtate had a right to ſend two members, the Pylagoras[41] and Hieromnemon[42], reſpectively entruſted with the civil and religious concerns of their conſtituents. The abolition of royalty rendering the independent communities more numerous, increaſed the Amphictyons to about an hundred perſons[43]. The central

40 The principal diviſions were,

1. Ionians, among whom the Athenians held the firſt rank.

2. The Dorians, among whom the Lacedæmonians held the firſt rank.

3. The Eolians, among whom the Bœotians held the firſt rank.

4. Theſſalians. 5. Magnetes. 6 Achæans.

7. Phthiotes. 8. Phocians. 9 Malians.

10. Ænians or Oetians. 11. Dolopians.

12. Locrians. Confer Pauſan. in Phocic. & Æſchin. de Falſa Legat.

41 Demoſth. de Coron. ſect. 51. 42 Suidas, ad voc.

43 Thirty-one Amphictyonic cities undertook the defence of Greece in the Perſian war. (Plutarch in Themiſtocl.) The one half of Greece, on that memorable occaſion, remained neutral, or ſided with the enemy. (Herodot. & Diodor.) If each city ſent two members to the Amphictyons, the whole would amount to one hundred

central city of Delphi, ſo famous from cauſes that will be immediately explained, was choſen as a convenient place for holding their vernal aſſembly; the autumnal was ſtill held at Thermopylæ. An oath, guarded by the moſt ſolemn imprecations, was adminiſtered to each member, "that he would "never ſubvert any Amphictyonic city, nor ſtop "the courſes of its running water, but puniſh to "the utmoſt of his power thoſe who committed "ſuch outrages[44]." Their conſtituents, however, diſcovered, on innumerable occaſions, that they thought themſelves but imperfectly bound by this ſacred promiſe. Every exceſs of animoſity prevailed among the Grecian republics, notwithſtanding the interpoſition of the Amphictyons. Yet it cannot be doubted that their authority tended ſometimes to appeaſe, ſometimes to moderate contention; and that this reſpected tribunal, though deficient in coërcive power, had a conſiderable effect to ſuppreſs diſcord, and reſtrain the barbarities of war[45].

The origin of Grecian oracles.

The Amphictyons gained much conſideration, by declaring themſelves protectors of the Delphic oracle, which had been growing to importance ſince the Dorian conqueſt, and which thenceforth gradually acquired an extraordinary influence on the affairs of Greece. It is ſeldom poſſible to explain the riſe of inſtitutions derived from the natural paſ-

dred and twenty four. But as ſome cities enjoyed the right of being repreſented in that council only in conjunction with others, this might reduce the number of members to that mentioned in the text.

44 Æſchin. de Falſa Legat. ſect. 35. 45 Plut. In Cimon.

ſions

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ſions of men, or founded on prejudices as ancient as the world. The moſt probable information concerning the origin of Grecian oracles was conveyed to Herodotus[46], in a thin allegorical veil, by the prieſts of Dodona, and explained to that inquiſitive and ingenious traveller by the prieſts of Jupiter in Egypt. In the fanciful ſtyle of antiquity, a black pigeon flew from the temple of Egyptian Thebes, to Theſprotia in Epirus, perched on a ſpreading oak, proclaimed with a human voice, that an oracle of Jupiter ſhould be eſtabliſhed; and the inhabitants of the neighbouring hamlet of Dodona obeyed the divine admonition. In plainer language, a female attendant belonging to the temple of Thebes on the Nile was tranſported to Epirus by Phœnician pirates, and there ſold as a ſlave. Her Egyptian complexion deſerved the epithet of black among the mountaineers of Theſprotia, bordering on the Illyric hordes, who were remarked by the Greek hiſtorians for their blooming complexions, active vigour, and longevity[47]. She was ſaid to ſpeak the language of birds, before ſhe underſtood the Grecian tongue, often diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of human ſpeech[48]. The enterpriſing female, though reduced to captivity among thoſe whom ſhe muſt have regarded as Barbarians, did not yield to deſpair, but dexterouſly availed herſelf of the advantages which ſhe derived from her education and her country. In Egypt, ſuperſtition had been already reduced into

46 Herodot. l. ii. c. 54.
47 Lucian in Macrob.
48 Homer, paſſim.

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ſyſtem; and a pretenſion to prophecy was one of the moſt ſucceſsful artifices by which the prieſts of Thebes long governed the opinions and reſolutions of prince and people. Her attendance on the temple had taught her ſome of the arts by which this pretenſion was maintained. She choſe the dark ſhade of the venerable oak; delivered myſterious anſwers to the admiring multitude; her reputation increaſed; ſucceſs gained her aſſociates; a temple roſe to Jupiter, and was ſurrounded by houſes for his miniſters.

Reaſon why their authority was not conſiderable during the heroic ages.

This ſingular inſtitution was imitated, at a very early period, in many provinces of Greece. The various and inconſiſtent accounts of ſimilar eſtabliſhments abundantly confirm the antiquity of their origin, and the multiplicity of temples, groves, grottos, and caverns, in which the favourites of innumerable divinities declared their will to men, proves them not leſs univerſal than ancient[49]. During the heroic ages, indeed, as illuſtrious and pious men believed themſelves, on important occaſions, honoured with the immediate preſence and advice of their heavenly protectors, the ſecondary information of prieſts and oracles was leſs generally regarded and eſteemed. But in proportion as the belief ceaſed that the gods appeared in a human form, or the ſuppoſed viſits at leaſt of theſe celeſtial beings ſeemed leſs frequent and familiar, the office of prieſt became more important and reſpectable, and the confidence in oracles continually gained

[49] Strabo, l. viii. p. 352. & p. 418. & Strabo & Pauſan. paſſim.

ground,

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ground. At length, theſe admired inſtitutions, being conſidered as the chief and almoſt only mode of communication with ſupernatural powers, acquired a degree of influence capable to controul every other principle of authority, whether civil or ſacred [50].

Circumſtances which gave peculiar celebrity to the oracle of Delphi.

But theſe various oracles, though alike founded on ignorance, and raiſed by deceit, were not equally ſupported by power and policy. The crafty Cretans (apt ſcholars of Egypt), who inſtituted the worſhip of the Delphian Apollo [51], gradually procured the credit of ſuperior veracity to the predictions of the god whom they ſerved. Favourable circumſtances concurred; the central ſituation of Delphi; the vernal ſeſſion of the Amphictyons; the luſtre derived from the immediate protection of that aſſembly; above all, the uncommon and awful aſpect of the place itſelf, fitted to excite wonder in ages leſs addicted to ſuperſtition.

Deſcription of that place.

That branch of the celebrated mount Parnaſſus, which divides the diſtricts of Phocis and Locris, contained, towards its ſouthern extremity, a profound cavern, the crevices of which emitted a ſulphureous vapour, that, powerfully affecting the brain, was deemed capable of inſpiring thoſe who breathed it with religious frenzy, and prophetic enthuſiaſm [52]. Around the principal mouth of the chaſm, the city of Delphi aroſe in the form of a

50 Herodot. Thucydid. & Xenoph. paſſim.

51 Homer, Hymn. ad Apollin.

52 Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. c. 26. & Strab. l. ix. p. 419.

theatre,

theatre, upon the winding declivity of Parnaſſus, whoſe fantaſtic tops overſhadowed it, like a canopy, on the north, while two immenſe rocks rendered it inacceſſible on the eaſt and weſt, and the rugged and ſhapeleſs mount Cirphis defended it on the ſouth [53]. The foot of the laſt-named mountain is waſhed by the rapid Pliſtus, which diſcharges itſelf into the ſea at the diſtance of ſix miles from the ſacred city. This inacceſſible and romantic ſituation, from which the place derived the name of Delphi [54], was rendered ſtill more ſtriking, by the innumerable echoes which multiplied every ſound, and increaſed the ignorant veneration of viſitants for the god of the oracle. The artful miniſters of Apollo gradually collected ſuch ſubjects in the groves and temple as were fitted to aſtoniſh the ſenſes of the admiring multitude. The ſplendor of marble, the magic of painting, the invaluable ſtatues of gold and ſilver, repreſented (to uſe the language of antiquity) not the reſemblance of any earthly habitation, but rather expreſſed the image of Olympus, adorned and enlightened by the actual preſence of the gods. During the age of Homer, the rich magnificence of Delphi was already proverbial [55]; and when

53 Homer has rather painted than deſcribed the ſituation of Pytho, Apollo's temple at Delphi:

Αυταρ υπερθεν
Πετρη υποκρεμαται, κοιλη δ' υποδεδρομε Βησσα, &c.
Hymn. ad Apollin.

54 Δεγφος is explained in the gloſſaries by ſynonymous words, ſignifying *ſolitary*, *alone*.

55 Ουδ' ὁσσα λαινος ουδος αφητορος εντος εεργει.

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Xerxes undertook his memorable expedition againſt Greece, the dedications in this pious treaſury, accumulated from the ſuperſtition and vanity of Greeks and Barbarians, were held equivalent[56] to the revenues of the monarch of Aſia, who covered the broad Ægean with his fleet, and tranſported into Europe two millions of armed men.

The particular conſtitution of that oracle.

The protection and ſuperintendance of this precious depoſitory of riches and ſuperſtition belonged to the Amphictyons. But the inhabitants of Delphi, who, if we may uſe the expreſſion, were the original proprietors of the oracle, always continued to direct the religious ceremonies, and to conduct the important buſineſs of prophecy[57]. It was *their* province alone to determine at what time, and on what occaſion, the Pythia ſhould mount the ſacred tripod, to receive the prophetic ſteams, by which ſhe communicated with Apollo. When overflowing with the heavenly inſpiration, ſhe uttered the confuſed words, or rather frantic ſounds, irregularly ſuggeſted by the impulſe of the god; the Delphians[58] collected theſe ſounds, reduced them into order, animated them with ſenſe, and adorned them with harmony. The Pythia, appointed and diſmiſſed at pleaſure, was a mere inſtrument in the hands of thoſe artful miniſters,

[56] See Deſert. ſur l'Oracle de Delph. par Mr. Hardion, Mem. de l'Academ. The compariſon was, doubtleſs, an exaggeration of the wealth of Delphi, which was little known till later times, when the Phocians plundered the temple of near a million ſterling, without exhauſting its treaſures. But of this more hereafter.

[57] Strabo, l.

[58] Strabo, l. ix. p. 419.

whoſe

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whoſe character became ſo venerable and ſacred, that they were finally regarded, not merely as attendants and worſhippers, but as the peculiar family of the god [59]. Their number was conſiderable, and never exactly aſcertained, ſince all the principal inhabitants of Delphi, claiming an immediate relation to Apollo, were entitled to officiate in the rites of his ſanctuary; and even the inferior ranks, belonging to that ſacred city, were continually employed in dances, feſtivals, proceſſions, and in diſplaying all the gay pageantry of an airy and elegant ſuperſtition.

Its influence in eſtabliſhing the Olympic games and Spartan laws.

The ſubſequent hiſtory of Greece atteſts the important and ſalutary influence of the Delphic oracle, which no ſooner attained ſplendor, than it confirmed, by its awful ſanction, two inſtitutions, the firſt religious, the ſecond civil, and both accompanied with very extraordinary conſequences. The Olympic games, and Spartan laws, were reſpectively eſtabliſhed by Iphitus and Lycurgus, contemporaries [60], friends, both animated by the true ſpirit of patriotiſm, and unqueſtionably the moſt illuſtrious characters of the age in which they lived [61]; yet the roads which they purſued for reaching

59 Lucian Phaler.

60 Phlegon apud Euſeb. Chronic. & Ariſtot. apud Plutarch. in Lycurg.

61 Lycurgus and Iphitus are commonly ſuppoſed to have inſtituted the Olympic games 108 years before the period to which the Olympiads could be regularly traced. This was 776 years before Chriſt, when Coroebus won in the foot-race. See Pauſan. l. v. Sir Iſaac Newton conſiders the chronology preceding the victory of Coroebus as ſo extremely uncertain, that he propoſes ſtriking off the imaginary interval between him and Iphitus; which appears the more

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reaching the ſame goal, the ſafety of their reſpective territories, were ſo widely different, that, while the Olympic games rendered Elis the moſt pacific, the laws of Lycurgus made Sparta the moſt warlike, of all the Grecian communities.

Remote cauſes of the eſtabliſhment of the Olympic games, and other ſimilar inſtitutions.

It was held an ancient and ſacred cuſtom, in the heroic ages, to celebrate the funerals of illuſtrious men by ſuch ſhows and ceremonies as ſeemed moſt pleaſing to their ſhades. The tombs, around which the melancholy manes were ſuppoſed to hover, naturally became the ſcene of ſuch ſolemnities. There the fleeting ghoſts of departed heroes were entertained and honoured by exhibitions of ſtrength and addreſs[62]; while the gods, though inhabiting the broad expanſe[63] of heaven, were yet peculiarly worſhipped, by prayers and ſacrifices, in the ſeveral places, which ſometimes the wildneſs, and ſometimes the elegance of fancy, had aſſigned for their favourite, though temporary, reſidence on earth. The lofty chain of Olympus, ſeparating the barbarous kingdom of Macedon from the fertile plains of Theſſaly, is diſtinguiſhed by ſeveral circumſtances, which ſeemed juſtly to entitle it to that honour. This long and lofty ridge aſcends above the regions of ſtorms and tempeſts. Its winding ſides are diverſified by woods, and interſected by torrents. Its fantaſtic tops, towering above the clouds, reflect during

more reaſonable becauſe hiſtory is totally ſilent with regard to any occurrences that muſt have happened in the intermediate ſpace of 108 years.

62 Iliad, l. xxiii.

63 Ουρανος ευρυς. Homer, paſſim.

day,

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day, the rays of the ſun, and ſometimes brighten the gloom of night with the lambent ſplendors of the Aurora Borealis [64]. This extraordinary mountain began naturally to be regarded as the principal terreſtrial habitation of the gods; along the receſſes of Olympus [65], each divinity had his appropriate palace; on its higheſt ſummit Jupiter often aſſembled the heavenly council; and from thence, veiled in a white gleam, the protectors of mankind deſcended, and were viſibly manifeſted to mortal eyes [66].

While Olympus was conſidered as the general rendezvous of theſe fanciful beings, it was natural to imagine that the partiality of particular divinities might ſelect other favourite ſpots of the earth for their ſeparate abode. The ſingular aſpect of Delphi, or Pytho, which recommended it as the ſeat of the oracle of Apollo, and afterwards of the Pythian games, has already been deſcribed. The Corinthian territory was particularly conſecrated to Neptune [67]; for where could the god of the ſea be more properly worſhipped, than on a narrow iſthmus, whoſe ſhores were adorned by grateful monuments of delivered mariners, and which had continued, from early times, the principal centre of Grecian navigation?

64 See the inimitable deſcription in the 6th book of the Odyſſey, ver. 42.

65 Κατα πτυχας Ολυμποιο. Along the foldings of Olympus.

66 Homer, paſſim; and particularly Iliad, l. xix. ver. 49.

67 Pauſan. Corinth. & Strabo, p. 382.

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Immediate cauſes of the eſtabliſhment of the Olympic games.

A tradition prevailed, that even before the Dorian conqueſt, the fruitful and pictureſque banks of the Alpheus, in the province of Elis, or Eleia, had been conſecrated to Jupiter[68]. It is certain that athletic ſports, ſimilar to thoſe deſcribed by Homer at the funeral of Patroclus, had been on many occaſions exhibited in Elis, by aſſembled chiefs, with more than ordinary ſolemnity[69]. The Dorian conquerors are ſaid to have renewed the conſecration of that delightful province. But the wars which early prevailed between them and the Athenians, and the jealouſies and hoſtilities which afterwards broke out among themſelves[70], totally interrupted the religious ceremonies and exhibitions with which they had been accuſtomed to honour their common gods and heroes. Amidſt the calamities which afflicted or threatened the Peloponneſus, Iphitus, a deſcendant of Oxylus, to whom the province of Eleia had fallen in the general partition of the peninſula, applied to the Delphic oracle. The prieſts of Apollo, ever diſpoſed to favour the views of kings and legiſlators, anſwered agreeably to his wiſh, that the feſtivals anciently celebrated at Olympia, on the Alpheus, muſt be renewed, and an armiſtice proclaimed for ſuch ſtates as were willing to partake of them, and deſirous to avert the vengeance of heaven[71]. Fortified by this authority, and aſſiſted by the advice

68 Pauſan. l. v. paſſim, & l. vi. p. 456.
69 Iliad, ii. ver. 697. & Iliad, ix. ver. 623.
70 Pauſan. l. v.
71 Phlegon apud Euſeb.

of Lycurgus, Iphitus took meaſures, not only for reſtoring the Olympic ſolemnity, but for rendering it perpetual. The injunction of the oracle was ſpeedily diffuſed through the remoteſt parts of Greece, by the numerous votaries who frequented the ſacred ſhrine. The armiſtice was proclaimed in Peloponneſus, and preparations were made in Eleia, for exhibiting ſhows and performing ſacrifices. In the heroic ages, feats of bodily ſtrength and addreſs were deſtined to the honour of deceaſed warriors; hymns and ſacrifices were reſerved for the gods. But the flexible texture of Grecian ſuperſtition, eaſily confounding the expreſſions of reſpectful gratitude and pious veneration, enabled Iphitus to unite both in his new inſtitution.

Deſcription of the nature and deſign of this inſtitution.

The feſtival, which laſted five days, began and ended with a ſacrifice to Olympian Jove. The intermediate time was chiefly filled up by the gymnaſtic exerciſes, in which all freemen of Grecian extraction were invited to contend, provided they had been born in lawful wedlock, and had lived untainted by any infamous immoral ſtain. The preparation for this part of the entertainment was made in the gymnaſium of Elis, a ſpacious edifice, ſurrounded by a double range of pillars, with an open area in the middle. Adjoining were various apartments, containing baths, and other conveniencies for the combatants. The neighbouring country was gradually adorned with porticoes, ſhady walks and groves, interſperſed with ſeats and benches, the whole originally deſtined to relieve the fatigues and anxiety of the candidates

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for Olympic fame; and frequented, in later times, by ſophiſts and philoſophers, who were fond to contemplate wiſdom, and communicate knowledge, in thoſe delightful retreats. The order of the athletic exerciſes, or combats, was eſtabliſhed by Lycurgus, and correſponded almoſt exactly to that deſcribed by Homer, in the twenty-third book of the Iliad, and eighth of the Odyſſey. Iphitus, we are told, appointed the other ceremonies and entertainments; ſettled the regular return of the feſtival at the end of every fourth year, in the month of July; and gave to the whole ſolemnity that form and arrangement, which it preſerved with little variation above a thouſand years; a period exceeding the duration of the moſt famous kingdoms and republics of antiquity[72]

Its important conſequences.

Such is the account of Grecian writers, who, doubtleſs, have often aſcribed to poſitive inſtitution inventions and uſages naturally reſulting from the progreſſive manners of ſociety. When we come to examine the Elian games in their more improved ſtate, together with the innumerable imitations of them in other provinces of Greece, there will occur reaſons for believing, that many regulations referred, by an eaſy ſolution, to the legiſlative wiſdom of Iphitus or Lycurgus, were introduced by time or accident, continued through cuſtom, improved by repeated trials, and confirmed by a ſenſe of their utility. Yet ſuch an

[72] See the authors cited by Weſt, in his Diſſertation on the Olympic Games.

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inſtitution as the Olympiad, even in its leaſt perfect form, muſt have been attended with manifeſt advantages to ſociety. It is ſufficient barely to mention the ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities which took place, not only during the celebration of the feſtival, but a conſiderable time both before and after it. Conſidered as a religious ceremony, at which the whole Grecian name were invited, and even enjoined, to aſſiſt, it was well adapted to facilitate intercourſe, to promote knowledge, to ſoften prejudice, and to haſten the progreſs of civilization and humanity. Greece, and particularly Peloponneſus, was the centre from which the adventurous ſpirit of its inhabitants had diffuſed innumerable colonies through the ſurrounding nations. To theſe widely ſeparated communities, which, notwithſtanding their common origin, ſeem to have loſt all connection and correſpondence, the Olympiad ſerved as a common bond of alliance, and point of reunion. The celebrity of this feſtival continually attracted to it the characters moſt diſtinguiſhed[73] for genius and enterpriſe, whoſe fame would have otherwiſe been unknown and loſt in the boundleſs extent of Grecian territory. The remote inhabitants, not only of European Greece, but of Aſia and Africa, being aſſembled to the worſhip of common gods, were formed to the ſenſe of a general intereſt, and excited to the purſuit of national honour and proſperity. Strangers of ſimilar diſpoſitions might confirm in Elis the

[73] Pindar, paſſim.

ſacred

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ſacred and indiſſoluble ties of hoſpitality. If their communities were endangered by any barbarous power, they might there ſolicit aſſiſtance from their Grecian brethren. On other occaſions they might explain the benefits which, in peace or war, their reſpective countries were beſt qualified to communicate. And the Olympic feſtival might thus ſerve as a centre of communication and ſource of intelligence, and in ſome meaſure ſupply the defect of poſts, gazettes, reſident ambaſſadors, and ſimilar inſtitutions always unknown to antiquity.

State of Greece in the age of Lycurgus.

Iphitus did not, probably, foreſee the manifold advantages deſtined to reſult from his plan. His main aim was to protect the ſmall principality of Elis againſt the dreaded invaſion of more powerful neighbours. This he effectually accompliſhed by fencing it round with a wall of ſanctity, while his more daring aſſociate fortified Sparta with diſciplined valour. Yet Lycurgus had farther ends in view, when he propoſed thoſe celebrated laws, which were univerſally admired, but never imitated. Greece in that unfortunate age preſented a gloomy picture of domeſtic diſcord. The elevated, though romantic, ſentiments of antiquity had ceaſed to prevail; the heroic character was effaced; and the generous, but often deſtructive expeditions into foreign lands, were interrupted by leſs daring, but ſtill more fatal undertakings. The introduction of ſeparate wealth had introduced inequality and ambition. Each petty prince was deſirous to exalt his prerogative, and to extend his dominions. The paſſions of neighbouring princes balanced

balanced his deſire of conqueſt. The reſiſtance of his ſubjects counteracted his uſurpations. Every kingdom, almoſt every city, was torn by a double conflict; dangers threatened on all ſides; ſubjects expelled their kings, and kings became tyrants [74]. CHAP. III.

During theſe tumultuary ſcenes, Lycurgus, of the line of Procles, and commonly reckoned the tenth in deſcent from Hercules, received the Spartan ſceptre upon the death of his elder brother Polydectes: but the widow of Polydectes declaring herſelf pregnant, he reſigned the crown, and aſſumed the title of Protector. This delicate attention to juſtice, rare in that turbulent age, excited juſt admiration for Lycurgus, which was enhanced by contraſt. The ambitious princeſs, more ſolicitous to preſerve the honours of a queen than deſirous to know the tender cares of a mother, ſecretly intimated to the Protector, that, if he conſented to marry her, ſhe would engage that no poſthumous ſon of his brother ſhould diſappoint his hopes of the ſucceſſion. Lycurgus feigned to enter into this unnatural project, but exhorted her not to endanger her health by procuring an abortion. When her delivery drew near, he ſent truſty perſons to attend her, with orders that, if ſhe brought forth a ſon, the infant ſhould be immediately carried to him. This command was obeyed, while he ſupped with the principal magiſtrates of the republic. He received the child in his arms, ſaying, "Spartans, a king is born to "you!" Joyous congratulations followed, to

His juſtice expoſes him to reſentment in Sparta.

74 Thucyd. l. i. Plut. in Lycurg.

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His travels.

commemorate which, the infant was named Chaerelaus, "the people's joy." Notwithſtanding the fame redounding to Lycurgus from this tranſaction, the intrigues of the ſlighted queen raiſed a powerful faction againſt him. He withdrew himſelf from the gathering ſtorm; and, being yet in early manhood, indulged his inclination for viſiting foreign countries; an inclination ſtrongeſt in liberal minds, and moſt commendable in ages of rudeneſs and ignorance, when the ſaint rays of knowledge muſt be collected from an extenſive ſurface.

Collects Homer's poems, and carries them to Sparta.

The renowned iſland of Crete, which had given birth to the gods and governments of Greece, firſt attracted his regard. The Cretans ſtill partially adhered to the laws of Minos; but their iſland never reſumed its priſtine luſtre after the fatal war of Troy. From Crete he ſailed to Egypt, and carefully examined the civil and religious polity of that ancient kingdom. Deſpiſing the terrors of the ſea, as well as the fatigues and dangers of unexplored journies through barbarous or deſert countries, he is ſaid to have reached the populous and flouriſhing kingdoms of the Eaſt: nor, could we truſt the partial evidence of his countryman Ariſtocrates [75], did the remote provinces of India eſcape his obſervation. He returned by the coaſt of Aſia Minor, and obſerved, with equal aſtoniſhment and ſatisfaction, the innumerable Greek colonies that had riſen with ſuch ſudden ſplendor on the weſtern coaſt of that valuable peninſula. The

[75] Apud Plutarch. in Lycurg.

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numerous advantages derived from this extenſive view of men and manners, moulded by ſuch a wide variety of religious, political, and military inſtitutions, were all eclipſed by one diſcovery—the immortal poems of Homer, unknown to the Dorian conquerors of Peloponneſus, but carefully preſerved among the Eolians and Ionians, whoſe anceſtors they celebrated. Lycurgus collected theſe invaluable compoſitions, arranged the ſeveral parts, tranſcribed and tranſported them to Sparta[76], where, after two centuries of wars and revolutions, the cuſtoms as well as the ſentiments deſcribed by the divine poet had been obliterated and forgotten.

The views which they ſuggeſted to Lycurgus.

Neither the aſtoniſhing invention of Homer, nor his inimitable fancy, nor the unrivalled copiouſneſs, energy, and harmony of his ſtyle, ſo powerfully excited the diſcerning admiration of Lycurgus, as the treaſures of his political and moral knowledge, which, being copied from the

[76] This fact is generally acknowledged; yet Plutarch tells us, that ſome writers were abſurd enough to relate that Lycurgus lived ſoon after Homer, and others, that he had actually ſeen the divine poet. Homer deſcribes the Peloponneſus with ſuch accuracy, that the geographer Strabo follows him, as it were, ſtep by ſtep, through that peninſula. It is incredible, therefore, that he, who was ſo perfectly acquainted with that part of Greece, ſhould have been totally forgotten there ſoon after his own times. Homer, it has been often obſerved, preſerves a remarkable ſilence about himſelf; yet his antiquity, were it not ſufficiently evident from the internal proofs above-mentioned, p. 50. might be proved from Odyſſ. l. i. ver. 351. and particularly from Iliad, l. xx. ver. 308. He flouriſhed before the return of the Heracleidæ, eighty years after the taking of Troy; a revolution which, had it happened before his time, could not have eſcaped his notice.

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bright originals of an heroic age, might be employed to reform the abuſes of a degenerate indeed, but not totally corrupted, nation. By reſtoring, in particular, the moderate ſpirit of policy which prevailed in happier times, the Spartan legiſlator might avert the moſt imminent dangers that threatened his family and his country. The royal families of Argos, Athens, and Thebes, had been reluctantly expelled by the reſentment or caution of their injured or jealous ſubjects, who regretted that the regal power was ſo apt to degenerate into a ſyſtem of oppreſſion. The misfortunes which had aboliſhed the honours, and almoſt extinguiſhed the race of Atreus, Oedipus, Theſeus, and ſo many other kings and heroes of antiquity, muſt purſue, and might ſoon overtake, the deſcendants of Hercules, whom the ſeaſonable laws of Lycurgus maintained, during ſeven centuries, on the Spartan throne. The accumulation of private wealth, together with the natural progreſs of arts and luxury, would gradually render the poſſeſſions of the Greeks more tempting prizes to rapacity and ambition, in proportion to the decay of that courage and diſcipline, which were requiſite to their defence. The fertile plains of Laconia might again be ravaged by the arms of ſome uncultivated, but warlike tribe; Sparta might ſuffer ſimilar calamities to thoſe which ſhe afterwards inflicted on Meſſené, and the alternative of dominion or ſervitude depended on the early inſtitutions that ſhould be reſpectively embraced

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braced by ſo many neighbouring and independent, and therefore rival, communities.

The main aim of his legiſlation.

The ſagacity of Lycurgus thus contemplating the relations and intereſts of his country and his family, regarded martial ſpirit and political liberty as the great ends of his legiſlation. Theſe important objects had been attained by the primitive inſtitutions, ſo faithfully deſcribed by Homer. Lycurgus determined to imitate the ſimple beauty of that illuſtrious model; and, to the end that the Spartan conſtitution might enjoy a degree of permanence and ſtability which the *heroic policies* had not poſſeſſed, he reſolved to avoid the rocks on which *they* had ſhipwrecked, to extinguiſh the ambition of diſtant or extenſive conqueſt, to level the inequality of fortune, to cruſh the baneful effects of wealth and luxury, in one word to arreſt the progreſs of what is called the refinement, but what ſeemed to the manly diſcernment of this legiſlator, the corruption, of human ſociety.

Circumſtances which favoured his views.

To form ſuch a deſign was the work of no vulgar mind; to carry it into execution required the moſt ſtrenuous exertions of perſeverance and courage. Yet, even at this diſtance of time, we may diſcover ſeveral favourable circumſtances, which ſeaſonably conſpired with the views of Lycurgus; we may diſcover in the gradual diſplay of his ſyſtem, how the firſt inſtitutions naturally paved the way for thoſe which ſucceeded them; and while we admire the genius and the virtue, we muſt alſo acknowledge the dexterity and the fortune, of the Spartan legiſlator.

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The experience of hiſtory (and particularly the hiſtory which he have undertaken to record) atteſts the extraordinary revolution which one bold, wiſe, and diſintereſted man may produce in the affairs of the community of which he is a member. The domeſtic diſorders which multiplied in Sparta after the departure of Lycurgus, obliged all ranks of men to look up to his abilities for protection. The animated declamations of Thales, a poet whom he had carried with him from Crete, and who rehearſed, with rapturous exſtacy, the verſes of Homer and his own, ſingularly diſpoſed the minds of men for adopting his propoſed regulations.

His reception at Delphi.

But neither theſe propitious circumſtances, nor the merit of ten years travel in purſuit of moral ſcience and political knowledge, nor the ties of blood, of friendſhip, and of gratitude, which confirmed the influence of Lycurgus among the principal inhabitants of Sparta, could have enabled this great man to eſtabliſh his plan of government, without the friendly co-operation of the Delphic oracle; which, ſince the decay of the heroic opinions and belief, had become the ſovereign umpire of Greece. The Pythia addreſſed him in terms of the higheſt reſpect; heſitated whether to call him a god or a man, but rather deemed him a divinity; approved the general ſpirit of the inſtitutions which he propoſed to eſtabliſh; and promiſed to furniſh him, as occaſion might require, with ſuch additional regulations, as (when adopted by the Spartans) would render their republic happy and immortal. Fortified by this authority, Lycurgus proceeded with

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with a daring yet ſkilful hand, firſt, to new-model the government; ſecondly, to regulate wealth and poſſeſſions; thirdly, to reform education and manners; judiciouſly purſuing this natural order of legiſlation, becauſe men are leſs jealous of power than tenacious of property, and leſs tenacious of property itſelf than of their ancient uſages and cuſtoms[77].

He regulates the diſtribution of political power among the different orders of the ſtate.

The firſt rhetra[78], or laws which he eſtabliſhed, tended to reſtore the mild moderation of mixed government, which diſtinguiſhed the heroic ages. They confirmed the hereditary honours, but aboliſhed the deſpotiſm[79], of kings: they enforced the dutiful obedience, but vindicated the liberty, of ſubjects. Of the reigning princes, Chaerelaus owed to Lycurgus his throne and his life, and Archelaus deemed it dangerous to oppoſe his projects. Inſtructed by the fatal experience of neighbouring tyrants, they were both eaſily prevailed on to prefer a ſecure, though limited, to an abſolute, but precarious reign. The ſuperſtition of the people could not decline the authority of the legiſ-

77 The only dangerous oppoſition that he met with, was occaſioned by his laws reſpecting theſe objects. A tumult being excited, the inſolent Alcander wounded him in the face, by which Lycurgus loſt the ſight of an eye. But the perſuaſive eloquence of the legiſlator quelled the ſedition, and his moderation converted Alcander from a violent oppoſer to a ſtrenuous partiſan. Plut. in Lycurg.

78 The word is ſynonymous with oracula, fata; by which names his laws were diſtinguiſhed as the immediate dictates and inſpirations of heaven.

79 The difference between the βασιλειαι, or royalties of the heroic ages, and the τυραννιδες of ſucceeding times, is explained by Ariſtot. Politic. & Xenoph. Repub. Spart.

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lator, when confirmed by the reſpected command of Apollo; and the intereſt of the nobles engaged them unanimouſly to promote his meaſures. With this illuſtrious body, conſiſting of twenty-eight chiefs, the moſt diſtinguiſhed in the tribes and cities of Laconia, Lycurgus conſulted by what means to prevent the political diſſenſions from ſettling in the deſpotiſm of kings, or in the inſolence of democracy. By his new regulations the ancient honours of the nobility were confirmed and extended. They were formed into a permanent council, or ſenate, which examined all matters of government before they were propoſed to the deliberation of the people. The kings were entitled, as in the heroic ages, to be the hereditary preſidents of this national tribunal; which, as in all important queſtions, it poſſeſſed a negative before debate; as the members were choſen for life; and as, on the deceaſe of any ſenator, his ſon or neareſt kinſman was naturally ſubſtituted in his ſtead, might have ſoon arrogated to itſelf the whole legiſlative as well as executive authority.

Inſtitutes the Ephori.

In order to counteract this dangerous tendency, Lycurgus inſtituted the Ephori [80], five annual magiſtrates, inveſted with a temporary power to inſpect and controul the adminiſtration of government, and to maintain the ſpirit and vigour of the eſtabliſhed conſtitution. To the Ephori it belonged to convoke, prorogue, and diſſolve the greater and leſſer aſſem-

Nature of their office.

[80] Their name, denoting overſeers, or inſpectors, properly deſcribes their office.

blies of the people; the former compoſed of nine thouſand Spartans, inhabitants of the capital; the latter of thirty thouſand Lacedæmonians, inhabitants of the inferior towns and villages. By frequently convening ſuch numerous bodies of men, who had arms in their hands, they rendered them ſenſible of their own ſtrength. The Lacedæmonians felt themſelves entitled not only to execute the juſt, but to thwart the unjuſt, orders of the ſenate. Nor was their liberty endangered by the limited prerogative of the kings, who monthly exchanged with the Ephori ſolemn oaths; the former ſwearing for themſelves to obſerve the laws of Sparta, the latter [81] for the people whom they repreſented, to maintain the hereditary honours of the Herculean race, to reſpect them as miniſters of religion, to obey them as judges in peace, and to follow them as leaders in war [82].

His laws concerning property.

This equitable diſtribution of power was accompanied, we are told, with an exact diviſion of property. At the diſtance of five centuries, it was the current tradition in Greece, that Lycurgus had totally altered the ſituation and circumſtances of his countrymen, by the introduction of an agra-

[81] The authority of Herodotus, l. i. and of Xenophon de Repub. Spart. refutes Ariſtot. Polit. l. ii. c. 5. and Plutarch. in Lycurg. The laſt mentioned writers refer the inſtitution of the Ephori to Theopompus, who lived 130 years after Lycurgus. But this aſſertion only proves that neither Ariſtotle nor Plutarch had ſufficiently entered into the views of the Spartan legiſlator. The Ephori, as it appears from Xenophon and Herodotus, and from the whole tranſactions of Sparta, formed an eſſential part of his plan.

[82] Xenoph. ibid.

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rian law, ſimilar to that which has been ſo often, but always ſo ineffectually, propoſed in other republics, as the ſureſt foundation of liberty and happineſs. Yet the equal diviſion of lands, or, in other words, the community of landed property, and the annual partition of the harveſt, took place among the original inhabitants of Greece, as well as among the freeborn warriors of ancient Germany. It may be ſuppoſed therefore, with a high degree of probability, that the Spartans, in the time of Lycurgus, ſtill preſerved ſome traces of their primitive inſtitutions, and that their minds were comparatively untainted with the vices of avarice and luxury. To bring them back, however, to the perfect ſimplicity of the heroic ages, and to prevent their future degeneracy, the territory of Laconia was divided into thirty-nine thouſand portions, each producing eighty-two medimni, or buſhels, of barley, with a proportional meaſure of fruits, wine, and oil. The rich paſture ground was probably left in common. The kings, as in the age of Homer, enjoyed their ſeparate [83] domain, conferred by the voluntary gratitude of their ſubjects. The ſenators, contented with an increaſe of power, and honour, neither obtained nor deſired any pre-eminence of fortune. Their moderation in this reſpect afforded a ſalutary example to the people, the greater part of whom

Equal diviſion of lands.

[83] The τεμενος. Xenophon tells us, that it was always well watered; it probably conſiſted, as in Homer's time, φυταλιης και αρουρης of plantations and corn land.

would

would naturally be gainers by the agrarian law, while the few who were rich, for that relative term always implies the ſmaller number, ſubmitted without reſiſtance to the wiſdom of Lycurgus, and the authority of Apollo. CHAP. III.

The equal diviſion of land ſeemed not alone ſufficient to introduce an equality in the manner of life, and to baniſh the ſeeds of luxury. The accumulation of moveable, or what the Greeks called inviſible property[84], might enable the rich to command the labour of the poor, and, according to the natural progreſs of wants and inventions, muſt encourage the dangerous purſuit of elegance and pleaſure. The precious metals had long been the ordinary meaſures of exchange in Sparta, and, could we credit a very doubtful tradition, had greatly accumulated in private hands. Lycurgus withdrew from farther circulation all this gold and ſilver, a conſiderable part of which probably repaid his gratitude to the Delphic oracle, while the remainder increaſed the ſplendor of the Lacedæmonian temples. Inſtead of theſe precious metals, the Spartans received pieces of iron, which had been heated red in the fire, and afterwards quenched in vinegar, in order to render them brittle, and uſeleſs for every other purpoſe but that of ſerving as the current ſpecie. Introduction of iron money.

Aſtoniſhing, ſay Xenophon and Plutarch, were the effects of this operation. With the baniſhment of gold and ſilver were baniſhed all the perni- Effects of theſe inſtitutions.

[84] Ουσια αφανης. See Lyſias, paſſim.

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cious appetites which they excite, and all the frivolous arts which they introduce and nouriſh. Neither fortune-teller, nor phyſician, nor ſophiſt, were longer to be ſeen in Sparta; gaudy trinkets and toys, and all uſeleſs finery in dreſs and furniture, at once diſappeared; and the innocence and dignity of Spartan manners correſponded with the primitive ſimplicity of the iron money. But to reduce to the ſtandard of truth or probability this very fanciful deſcription, it may be obſerved, that the uſefulneſs and ſcarcity of iron rendered it, in early times, a very ordinary and convenient meaſure of exchange. As ſuch it was frequently employed in the heroic ages [85]; as ſuch it long continued at Byzantium [86], and other Grecian cities [87]. The neceſſity of cooling it in acid, in order to diminiſh its worth, indicates its high value even in the time of Lycurgus. The alteration of the ſpecie, therefore, probably appeared not ſo violent a meaſure as later writers were inclined to repreſent it; nor could the abolition of gold and ſilver aboliſh ſuch elegancies and refinements as ſurely had no exiſtence in Greece during the age of the Spartan legiſlator. But it may reaſonably be believed, that the uſe of iron money, which continued permanent in Sparta alone, after the vices of wealth and luxury had polluted the reſt of Greece, neceſſarily repelled from the republic of Lycurgus the votaries of pleaſure, as well as the ſlaves of gain, and all the miſerable retinue of vanity and folly.

85 Homer, paſſim. 86 Ariſtoph. Nubes. 87 Plut. in Lyſand.

That

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That wealth is little to be coveted, even by the moſt ſelfiſh, which neither gratifies vanity, nor flatters the deſire of power, nor promiſes the means of pleaſure. Upon the ſmalleſt abſtraction, if avarice were at all capable of abſtraction, the moſt ſordid might ſympathiſe with the contempt for ſuperfluous riches, which could never be applied to any purpoſe, either uſeful or agreeable. What effort could the generoſity of that people require, (if the indifference of the Spartans deſerve the name of generoſity,) among whom all valuable objects were equally divided, or enjoyed in common[88]? Among whom it was enjoined by the laws, and deemed honourable by the citizens, freely to communicate their arms, horſes, inſtruments of agriculture and hunting; to eat together at common and frugal tables, agreeably to the inſtitutions of Crete, as well as the practice of the heroic ages; to diſregard every diſtinction but that of perſonal merit; to deſpiſe every luxury but that of temperance; and to diſdain every acquiſition but that of the public eſteem?

Principle of the Spartan manners.

The general and firm aſſent to the divine miſſion of Lycurgus might excite the moſt generous and manly ſentiments in the minds of his countrymen. The perſuaſive force of his eloquence, aſſiſted by the lyric genius of Thales, a poet worthy of Apollo and his miſſionary[89], might enable the legiſlator to complete his beneficial and extenſive plan. But there was reaſon to apprehend leſt the

Ordinary occupations and amuſements.

[88] Xenoph. ibid. c. vi.

[89] Plut. in Lycurg.

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ſyſtem of Lycurgus, like moſt ſchemes of reformation, ſhould evaporate with the enthuſiaſm which produced it, unleſs the mortifications which it enjoined were rendered habitual to practice, and familiar to fancy. His laws were few and ſhort; for the ſake of memory they were conceived in verſe; they were not conſigned to writing, but treaſured in the *hearts* of his diſciples as the immediate dictates of heaven. The Lacedæmonians were ſeverely prohibited from the contagious intercourſe of ſtrangers, except at the ſtated returns of religious ſolemnities. Lycurgus, who had aſſiſted Iphitus in reſtoring the Olympic games, inſtituted ſimilar, though leſs ſplendid, feſtivals in his native country. When unemployed in the ſerious buſineſs of war, the Lacedæmonians were continually engaged in aſſemblies for converſation and the gymnaſtic exerciſes, or in religious and military amuſements. Agriculture and the mechanic arts were left to the ſervile hands of the Helots, under which appellation were comprehended (as will be explained hereafter) various hoſtile communities that ſucceſſively fell under the dominion of Sparta, and whoſe perſonal labour was regarded as the common property of the public [90]. The ſciences of war and government were recommended by the laws of Lycurgus, as the only purſuits deſerving the attention of freemen.

[90] Και τροπον τινα δημοσιους ειχον δουλους. "And, in ſome measure, they," the Lacedæmonians, "had public ſlaves." Strabo. See likewiſe Ariſtot. Repub. l. ii. c. 5.

In

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Their military inſtitutions.

In the knowledge and practice of war, the Lacedæmonians (if we believe Xenophon, who had fought with and againſt them) far excelled all Greeks and Barbarians. Courage, the firſt quality of a ſoldier, was enlivened by every motive that can operate moſt powerfully on the mind, while cowardice was branded as the moſt odious and deſtructive of crimes, on the principle that it tended not, like many other vices, merely to the hurt of individuals, but to the ſervitude and ruin of the community. The Spartans preſerved the uſe of the ſame weapons and defenſive armour that had been adopted in the heroic ages; ſhortening only the length, and thereby improving the ſtrength of the ſword, which was two-edged, pointed, maſſy, and fitted either by cutting or thruſting to inflict a dangerous wound[91]. Their troops were divided into regiments, conſiſting of five hundred and twelve men, ſubdivided into four companies, and each of theſe into ſmaller diviſions, commanded by their reſpective officers; for it was peculiar to the Lacedæmonian armies to contain, comparatively, few men not entruſted with ſome ſhare of ſubordinate command[92]. The ſoldiers were attended

[91] Vid. Pollux, voc. ξυηλον.

[92] Thucydides, who remarks this peculiarity, l. v. p. 390. aſſigns the reaſon of it, that the care of the execution might pertain to many. The whole Lacedæmonian army, except a few, conſiſted, he ſays, in αρχοντες αρχοντων, και το επιμελες τω δρωμενω πολλοις μροσηκει. It is neceſſary to obſerve, that the account given by Thucydides, in this paſſage, of the compoſition of the Lacedæmonian armies, differs materially from that of Xenophon. I have preferred the latter, firſt,

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tended by a multitude of artiſans and ſlaves, who furniſhed them with all neceſſary ſupplies, and accompanied by a long train of prieſts and poets, who flattered their hopes, and animated their valour. A body of cavalry always preceded their march; ſenſible of the weakneſs of angles, they encamped in a circular form: the order of their guards and watches was highly judicious; they employed, for their ſecurity, out-ſentries and vedettes; and regularly, every morning and evening, performed their cuſtomary exerciſes. Xenophon has deſcribed with what facility they wheeled in all directions; converted the column of march into an order of battle; and, by ſkilful and rapid evolutions, preſented the ſtrength[93] of the line to an unexpected aſſault. When *they* found it prudent to attack, the king, who uſually roſe before dawn, to anticipate, by early prayer and ſacrifice[94], the favour of the gods, communicated his orders to charge in a full line, or in columns, according to the nature of the ground,

firſt, becauſe Xenophon writes expreſsly on the ſubject, of which Thucydides ſpeaks incidentally in deſcribing a particular battle: ſecondly, becauſe the obſervations of Xenophon relate to the age of Lycurgus, thoſe of Thucydides to the time of the Peloponneſian war: thirdly, becauſe, as will appear in the ſequel, Xenophon had a better opportunity than any other ſtranger, of being thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of Lacedæmon.

93 The Lacedæmonian tactics will be explained more particularly hereafter.

94 Ου χρη παννυχιον ἑυδειν βυληφορον ανδρα
Οι λαοι επιτετραφεται και τοσσα μεμηλε.

Lycurgus, never loſing ſight of Homer, converted his advices into laws.

and

and the numbers and diſpoſition of the enemy. In the day of battle, the Spartans aſſumed an unuſual gaiety of aſpect; and diſplayed, in their dreſs and ornaments, more than their wonted ſplendor. Their long hair was arranged with ſimple elegance; their ſcarlet uniforms, and brazen armour, diffuſed a luſtre around them. As they approached the enemy, the king ſacrificed anew; the muſic ſtruck up; and the ſoldiers advanced with a ſlow and ſteady pace, and with a cheerful but deliberate countenance, to what they were taught to regard as the nobleſt employment of man. Proper officers were appointed to receive the priſoners, to divide the ſpoil, and to decide the conteſted prizes of valour. Both before and after, as well as during, the action, every meaſure was conducted with ſuch order and celerity, that a great captain declares, that when he conſidered the diſcipline of the Spartans, all other nations appeared but children in the art of war [95].

Means by which Lycurgus maintained the populouſneſs, and increaſed the ſtrength of Sparta.

But that continual exerciſe in arms, which improved the ſkill and confirmed the valour, muſt gradually have exhauſted the ſtrength of Sparta, unleſs the care of population had formed an object of principal concern in the ſyſtem of Lycurgus. Marriage was directly enjoined by ſome very ſingular inſtitutions [96]; but ſtill more powerfully encouraged

95 Xenoph. de Repub. Spart.

96 Bachelors were debarred from aſſiſting at the female dances. They were compelled to walk naked through the ſtreets in the winter ſolſtice, ſinging a ludicrous ſong, which confeſſed the juſtice of their puniſhment.

by

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by extirpating its greateſt enemies, luxury and vanity. But Lycurgus, not contented with maintaining the populouſneſs of Sparta, endeavoured to ſupply the paſt generation with a nobler and more warlike race, and to enlarge and elevate the bodies and minds of men to that full proportion of which their nature is ſuſceptible. The credulous love of wonder has always been eager to aſſert, what the vanity of every age has been unwilling to believe, that the ancient inhabitants of the world poſſeſſed a meaſure of ſize and ſtrength, as well as of courage and virtue, unattainable and unknown amidſt the corruptions and degeneracy of later times. The frequent repetition of the ſame romantic tale renders giants and heroes familiar and inſipid perſonages in the remote hiſtory of almoſt every people: but from the general maſs of fable, a juſt diſcernment will ſeparate the genuine ore of Homer and Lycurgus. The laws of the latter brought back the heroic manners which the former had deſcribed; and their effects, being not leſs permanent than ſalutary, are, at the diſtance of many centuries, atteſted by eye-witneſſes, whoſe unimpeached veracity declares the Spartans ſuperior to other men in the excellencies of mind and body [97].

His regulations concern-

Of this extraordinary circumſtance, the evidence of contemporary writers could ſcarcely con-

97 As to the mind, the Spartans were, ſays Xenophon, ευπειθεστεροι, και αιδημονεστεροι, και ων δει εγκρατεστεροι. Ibid. c. iii. And as to the body, Διαφεροντας και κατα μεγεθος και κατα ισχυν ανδρας εν Σπαρτη απετελεσεν. Ibid.

vince

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ing women, marriage, and children.

vince us, had they barely mentioned the fact, without explaining its cauſe. But in deſcribing the ſyſtem of Lycurgus, they have not omitted his important regulations concerning the intercourſe between the ſexes, women, marriage, and children, whoſe welfare was, even before their birth, a concern to the republic. The generous and brave, it is ſaid, produce the brave and good; but the phyſical qualities of children ſtill more depend on the conſtitution of their parents. In other countries of Greece, the men were liberally formed by war, hunting, and the gymnaſtic exerciſes; but the women were univerſally condemned to drudge in ſedentary and ignoble occupations, which enfeebled the mind and body. Their chief employment was to ſuperintend, more frequently to perform, the meaneſt offices of domeſtic œconomy, and to prepare, by the labour of their hands, food and raiment for themſelves and families. Their diet was coarſe and ſparing; they abſtained from the uſe of wine; they were deprived of liberal education and debarred from faſhionable amuſements. Women, thus degraded by ſervility, appeared incapable of giving good ſons to the republic, which Lycurgus regarded as the principal duty of the Lacedæmonian females. By the inſtitutions of Sparta, therefore, the working of wool, the labours of the loom and needle, and other mean mechanical arts, were generally committed to ſervile hands. The free-born women enjoyed and practiſed thoſe liberal exerciſes and amuſements, which were elſewhere conſidered

as

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as the peculiar privilege of men; they aſſiſted at the public ſolemnities, mingled in general converſation, and diſpenſed that applauſe and reproach, which diſpenſed by them are always moſt effectual[98]. Hence they became not only the companions but the judges of the other ſex; and, except that their natural delicacy was not aſſociated to the honours of war, they enjoyed the benefit, without feeling the reſtraint of the Spartan laws.

The reſtoration of the natural rights of women reſtored moderation and modeſty in the intercourſe between the ſexes. Marriage, though enjoined as a duty, could only be contracted in the full vigour of age; and theſe ſimple inſtitutions had a more ſalutary influence on the phyſical improvement of the Spartans, than either the doubtful expedient, which prevailed among them to the lateſt times, of adorning the women's apartments with the fineſt ſtatues of gods and heroes, that, by frequently contemplating theſe graceful images, they might produce fairer offspring; or the unnatural and deteſtable cruelty of expoſing delicate or deformed children, a practice ſtrongly recommended by Lycurgus, and ſilently approved, or faintly blamed, by the greateſt philoſophers of antiquity.

[98] This, likewiſe, was the buſineſs of women in the heroic ages.

Αλλα μαλα αινως
Αιδεομαι Τρωας και Τρωαδας ειλκεσιπεπλους,
Αικε, κακος ὡς, νοσφιν αλυσκαζω πολεμοιο.

Il. l. vi. ver. 443.

Even

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Education.

Even in a moral view, the character of Spartan mothers muſt have been highly beneficial to their ſons, ſince much of the happineſs of life depends on the firſt impreſſions of our tender years. When boys were emancipated from the juriſdiction of women, they were not entruſted, as in other parts of Greece, to the mercenary tuition of ſlaves, who might degrade their ſentiments, and corrupt their morals. The education of youth, as an office of the higheſt confidence, was committed to thoſe who had enjoyed, or who were entitled to enjoy, the moſt ſplendid dignities of the republic; after the example of ancient times, when Phœnix educated Achilles, and when it was reaſonably required that the maſter ſhould himſelf poſſeſs the virtues with which he undertook to inſpire his diſciples. The Spartan youth were taught muſic and drawing: the former of which comprehended the ſcience not only of ſounds, but of number and quantity: they were taught to read and ſpeak their own language with graceful propriety; to compoſe in proſe and in verſe; above all, to think, and in whatever they ſaid, even during the flow of unguarded converſation, to accommodate the expreſſion to the ſentiment[99]. Their ſedentary ſtudies were relieved by the orcheſtric and gymnaſtic exerciſes, the early practice of which might qualify them for the martial labours of the field.

[99] In the ſmart pithy ſentences, or apothegms, for which the Spartans were famous, the thought is ſometimes elegant, and ſometimes ingenious; but their merit depends for the moſt part on the obſervance of the rule in the text. See Plut. Apoth.

For

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For this moſt important buſineſs of their manhood, they were ſtill further prepared, by being enured, even in their tender years, to a life of hardſhip and ſeverity. They wore the ſame garment, ſummer and winter; they walked barefooted in all ſeaſons; their diet was plain and frugal, and for the moſt part ſo ſparing, that they loſt no opportunity to ſupply the defect. What they were unable to raviſh by force, they acquired by fraud. When their theft (if theft can be practiſed where ſeparate property is almoſt unknown) was diſcovered, they were ſeverely puniſhed; but if their dexterous deceit eſcaped obſervation, they were allowed to boaſt of their ſucceſs, and met with due applauſe for their activity, vigilance, and caution; which indicated a character well fitted to excel in the uſeful ſtratagems of war [100].

Peculiar diſcipline of the youth.

After attaining the ordinary branches of education, youth are frequently left the maſters of their own actions. Of all practical errors, Lycurgus deemed this the moſt dangerous. His diſcernment perceived the value of that moſt important period of life, which intervenes between childhood and virility; and the whole force of his diſcipline was applied to its direction and improvement. Inſtead of being looſened from the uſual ties of authority, the Spartans, at the age of adoleſcence, were ſubjected to a more rigorous reſtraint; and the moſt extraordinary expedients

[100] Beſides Xenophon and Plutarch, ſee, for the Spartan education, Plato in Protagor.

were

were employed to moderate the love of pleaſure, to correct the inſolence of inexperience, and to controul the headſtrong impetuoſity of other youthful paſſions. Their bodies were early familiariſed to fatigue, hunger, and watching; their minds were early accuſtomed to difficulty and danger. The laborious exerciſe of the chace formed their principal amuſement; at ſtated times, the magiſtates took an account of their actions, and carefully examined their appearance. If the ſeeds of their vicious appetites had not been thoroughly eradicated by a life of habitual toil and temperance, they were ſubjected to corporal puniſhment, which it was their cuſtom to endure with patient fortitude. The maxims of honour were inſtilled by precept, and enforced by example. The public tables, which were frequented by all ages, ſerved as ſo many ſchools of wiſdom and virtue, where, on ordinary occaſions, but more particularly on days of feſtivity, the old related their ancient exploits, and boaſted their paſt proweſs; thoſe in the vigour of life diſplayed the ſentiments which their manly courage inſpired; and the young expreſſed a modeſt confidence that, by ſtedfaſtly adhering to the precepts of Lycurgus, they might be enabled in due time to equal, perhaps to ſurpaſs, the glory of both.

Their emulation.

But the deſire of emulating the fame of their illuſtrious anceſtors was not the moſt ardent principle that animated the minds of the riſing generation. They were taught to vie with each other in every agreeable and uſeful accompliſhment.

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As they were publicly educated in ſeparate claſſes, according to their reſpective ages of childhood, adoleſcence, and puberty [101], their characters were exactly aſcertained and fully known: and the rewards and honours gradually beſtowed on them, were apportioned to the various degrees of excellence which they had previouſly diſcovered. When they attained the verge of manhood, three youths of ſuperior merit were named by the Ephori, that they might reſpectively chooſe, each an hundred of their companions, who ſhould be entitled to the honourable diſtinction of ſerving in the cavalry. The reaſons of preference and rejection were openly explained; and the youths who had been ſet aſide, became, from that moment, the rivals and opponents both of the electors and of the elected. At home and abroad, in the aſſemblies for converſation and exerciſe, in the gymnaſtic and muſical conteſts, in their military expeditions, as well as their martial amuſements, the two parties diſplayed the utmoſt emulation and ardour, the one to regain the equality which they had loſt, the other to maintain their aſcendant. They ſeldom rencountered in the ſtreets or walks, without diſcovering their animoſity in mutual reproaches, and ſometimes in blows. But theſe quarrels were not dangerous, either to the ſafety of the public, or to the perſons of individuals, becauſe the com-

[101] I have choſen theſe words to expreſs the ſucceſſive ages of the παις, μειρακιον, ἀνηρ. They continued γεραντες till 46, which was reckoned by the Greeks and Romans the beginning of old age. Vid. Cic. de Senectute.

batants

batants were obliged to ſeparate (under the pain of puniſhment and diſgrace) at the peaceful ſummons of every by-ſtander; and the reſpected admonitions of age controlled, on ſuch occaſions, the youthful fermentation of turbulent paſſions.

The paternal authority in Sparta.

The reverence for aged wiſdom, which formed the prevailing ſentiment of the heroic times, was reſtored by the legiſlation of Lycurgus, and employed as a main pillar of his political edifice. The renovation of limited government, the equal partition of lands, and the abolition of wealth and luxury, had removed the artificial ſources of half the miſeries and diſgrace of human kind. But Lycurgus conſidered his ſyſtem as incomplete, until he had levelled not only the artificial, but many of the natural inequalities, in the condition of his fellow-citizens. The fears and infirmities of the old were compenſated by honour and reſpect; the hopes and vigour of the young were balanced by obedience and reſtraint. The difference of years thus occaſioned little diſproportion of enjoyment; the happineſs of every age depended on the practice of virtue; and as all adventitious and accidental diſtinctions were removed, men perceived the importance of perſonal merit, and of its reward, the public eſteem, and eagerly graſped the advantages which glory confers; the only excluſive advantages which the laws of Lycurgus permitted them to enjoy. The paternal authority[102], which maintained the diſcipline, and pro-

[102] The "patria poteſtas.

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moted the grandeur of Rome, was firmly eſtabliſhed at Sparta, where every father might exerciſe an unlimited power, over not only his own, but the children of others, who were all alike regarded as the common ſons of the republic. This domeſtic ſuperiority naturally prepared the way for civil pre-eminence; the elective dignities of the ſtate were obtained only by men of experienced wiſdom; and it required ſixty years of laborious virtue to be entitled to a ſeat in the ſenate-houſe, the higheſt ambition of the Spartan chiefs. Such regulations, of which it is impoſſible to miſtake the ſpirit, had a direct tendency to produce moderation and firmneſs in the public councils, to controul the too impetuous ardour of a warlike people, to allay the ferment of domeſtic faction, and to check the dangerous ambition of foreign conqueſt. The power of the magiſtrate was confounded with the authority of the parent; they mutually aſſiſted and ſtrengthened each other, and their united influence long upheld the unſhaken fabric of the Spartan laws, which the old felt it their intereſt to maintain, and the young deemed it their glory to obey.

Coincidence of the inſtitutions of Lycurgus with thoſe of the heroic ages.

Such were the celebrated inſtitutions of Lycurgus, which are eminently diſtinguiſhed by the ſimplicity of their deſign, the exact adaptation of their parts, and the uniform conſiſtence of the whole, from the political eſtabliſhments of other countries, which are commonly the irregular and motley production of time and accident. Without a careful examination of the whole ſyſtem, it

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is impoſſible to ſeize the ſpirit of particular laws. But if the whole be attentively conſidered, we ſhall perceive that they contain nothing ſo original or ſo ſingular as is generally believed. From the innumerable coincidences that have been remarked between the heroic and the Spartan diſcipline, there ſeems ſufficient ground to conclude that the one was borrowed from the other; and if we accurately contemplate the genius of both, we may diſcern that they tended not (as has been often ſaid) to ſtop and interrupt, but only to divert, the natural current of human propenſities and paſſions. The deſire of wealth and of power, of effeminate eaſe, of frivolous amuſements, and of all the artificial advantages and enjoyments of ſociety, are only ſo many ramifications of the love of action and of pleaſure; paſſions which it would be impoſſible to eradicate without deſtroying the whole vigour of the mind. Yet theſe propenſities, which it is often the vain boaſt of philoſophy to ſubdue, policy may direct to new and more exalted objects. For the ſordid occupations of intereſt, may be ſubſtituted the manly purſuits of honour; the love of virtuous praiſe, may controul the deſire of vicious indulgence; and the impreſſions of early inſtitution, confirmed by example and habit, may render the great duties of life its principal employment and greateſt pleaſure.

Spirit of both.

Such a condition of ſociety ſeems the higheſt elevation and grandeur to which human nature can aſpire. The Spartans attained, and long preſerved, this ſtate of exaltation; but ſeveral circumſtances

Fate of the Spartan inſtitutions.

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cumſtances and events, which the wiſdom of Lycurgus[103] had foreſeen, but which no human power could prevent, undermined the foundation of their greatneſs and felicity. Their military proweſs gave them victory, ſlaves, and wealth; and though individuals could feel only the pride of virtue, and enjoy only the luxury of glory, the public embibed the ſpirit of rapacity and the ambition of conqueſt. As in other countries the vices of individuals corrupt the community, in Laconia the vices of the public corrupted individuals. This unfortunate tendency was increaſed by the inequality of the cities originally ſubject to the Lacedæmonian laws. Sparta, the capital, contained nearly a fourth part of the inhabitants of the whole territory; the reſt were divided among thirty, and afterwards eighteen, ſubordinate towns[104]. The ſuperior numbers of the Spartans enlarged their ſphere of competition, and increaſed their ardour of emulation. They ſoon ſurpaſſed their neighbours, not only in valour and addreſs, but in dignity and in power. All matters of importance were decided in the leſſer aſſembly; the greater was ſeldom ſummoned; and the members of the former, inſtead of continuing the equals, became the maſters, and at length the tyrants, of their Lacedæmonian brethren. The

[103] Lycurgus had formed Sparta for defence, not for conqueſt. He expreſsly forbade them to purſue a flying enemy; he forbade them to engage frequently in war with the ſame people. Both injunctions were violated in the Meſſenian wars.

[104] Strabo, l. viii.

uſurpation

uſurpation of power fomented their deſire of wealth; ſeveral lots were accumulated by the ſame perſons as early as the Perſian war[105]; and the neceſſity of defending their poſſeſſions, and their authority, againſt men who had arms in their hands and reſentment in their hearts, rendered their government uncommonly rigid and ſevere. The ſlaves, the freedmen[106], the tenants of the Laconic territory, and even ſuch of the inhabitants of the capital as, on account of their poverty, cowardice, or any other diſgraceful circumſtance, were debarred from the dignities of the republic[107], teſtified the keeneſt animoſity againſt the ſtern pride of the Spartan magiſtrates, and, to uſe the lively but indelicate expreſſion of Xenophon, would have devoured them raw[108]. The Spartans, however, ſtill maintained their ſuperiority by force or by fraud, by ſeaſonable compliance, or by prompt and judicious ſeverity. By dividing the ſtrength they diſarmed the fury of their enemies, and the flames of domeſtic diſcord were eclipſed by the ſplendour of foreign conqueſt, by which both the magiſtrates and the ſubjects were enriched and corrupted: yet, amidſt civil diſcord and political degeneracy, they

[105] Demaratus told Xerxes that there were but eight thouſand Spartan lots (Herodot.), and about a century afterwards their number was reduced to one thouſand. Ariſt. Polit.

[106] So I have tranſlated the word νεοδαμωδεις, on the authority of Thucydides, l. v. δυναται δε το νεοδαμωδες ελευθερον ηδη τινα. The reſentment even of the freedmen proves the intolerable ſeverity of the government.

[107] They were called ὑπομειονες, inferiors, in oppoſition to the ὁμοιοι, or peers.

[108] Xenophon Hellen. l. iii.

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ſtill preſerved their religious and military inſtitutions, as well as their invaluable plan of education; and their tranſactions, even in the lateſt ages of Greece, will furniſh an ample and honourable commentary on the laws of Lycurgus.

Laſt tranſaction of Lycurgus.

Concerning this extraordinary man, only one farther [109] circumſtance is recorded with any appearance of authenticity; a circumſtance highly deſcriptive both of his own character, and of that of the age in which he lived. Having beheld the harmony of the political machine, which he had ſo ſkilfully contrived, he ſummoned an aſſembly, and declared, that now he had but one new regulation to propoſe, upon which, however, it was firſt neceſſary to conſult the oracle of Delphi; that, meanwhile, his countrymen, who had ſeen the ſucceſs of his labours, would engage that no alteration ſhould take place before his return. The kings, the ſenate, and the people, ratified the engagement by a ſolemn oath. Lycurgus undertook his journey; the oracle predicted the happineſs which the Spartans ſhould enjoy under his admirable laws; the reſponſe was tranſmitted to his country, where Lycurgus himſelf determined never more to return, convinced that the duration of the government which he had eſtabliſhed would be better ſecured by the eternal ſanctity of an oath, than by the temporary influence of his own perſonal preſence.

[109] Some contradictory traditions concerning his death are preſerved in Plut. in Lycurg. & Juſtin. l. iii.

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State of Greece after the Abolition of Royalty.—Deſcription of Laconia and Meſſenia.—Cauſes of the War between thoſe States.—Invaſion of Meſſenia.—Diſtreſs of the Meſſenians.—The horrid Means by which they endeavour to remedy it.—They obtain Aſſiſtance from Argos and Arcadia.—Their Capital taken by the Spartans.—Iſſue of the firſt Meſſenian War.—State of Greece.—The Colony of Tarentum founded.—The ſecond Meſſenian War.—Character and Exploits of Ariſtomenes.—The Diſtreſs of the Spartans.—They obtain Aſſiſtance from Athens.—The Poet Tyrtæus.—Subjugation of Meſſenia.—Future Fortunes of its Citizens.—Their Eſtabliſhment in Sicily.

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State of Greece after the abolition of monarchy.

HAD the Greeks remained ſubject to kings, it is probable that they would have continued longer to exert their united valour againſt the ſurrounding Barbarians. The ſucceſsful adventures of the Argonauts, the glorious, though deſtructive, expedition againſt Troy, would have animated the emulation and the hopes of ſucceeding candidates for fame; and the whole nation, being frequently employed in diſtant and general enterpriſes, would, through the habits of mutual intercourſe, and the natural tendency of military ſubor-

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ſubordination, have been gradually moulded into one powerful monarchy. This revolution would have given immediate tranquillity to Greece, but deſtroyed the proſpect of its future grandeur. The honourable competitions of rival provinces muſt have ceaſed with their political independence; nor would the Greeks have enjoyed an opportunity of acquiring, by a long and ſevere apprenticeſhip in arms, that diſciplined valour which eminently diſtinguiſhed them above other nations of antiquity. In moſt countries it has been obſerved, that, before the introduction of regular troops, the militia of the borders far excel thoſe of the central provinces. Greece, even under its kings, was divided into ſo many independent ſtates, that it might be regarded as conſiſting entirely of frontier. Under the republican form of government, it was ſtill more ſubdivided; and motives of private ambition now co-operating with reaſons of national animoſity, wars became more frequent, and battles more bloody and more obſtinate. It is little to be regretted, that ſcarcely any materials remain for deſcribing the perpetual hoſtilities between the Thebans and the Athenians; between the latter and the Peloponneſians; between the Phocians and Theſſalians; and, in general, between each community and its neighbours. The long and ſpirited conteſt between the Lacedæmonians and Meſſenians, is the only war of that age which produced permanent effects. The relation of this obſtinate ſtruggle has happily come down to us, accompanied with ſuch circumſtances as paint

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paint the condition of the times, and anſwer the main ends of hiſtory.

Deſcription of Laconia.

The territories of Laconia and Meſſenia occupied the ſouthern regions of the Peloponneſus. The ſhores of Laconia were waſhed by the eaſtern, or the Ægean; thoſe of Meſſenia [1], by the weſtern, or the Ionian, ſea. The former country extended forty miles from eaſt to weſt, and ſixty from north to ſouth. The ground, though roughened by mountains, like the reſt of the Peloponneſus, abounded in rich and fertile vallies, equally adapted to the purpoſes of cultivation and paſture. The whole country was anciently called Hecatonpolis [2], from its hundred cities. They were reduced to the number of thirty [3] as early as the time of Lycurgus. The decay or deſtruction of Helos, Amyclæ, Pharis, and Geronthæ, and other leſs conſiderable towns, gradually increaſed the populouſneſs of Sparta, the capital, ſituate near the centre of Laconia, and almoſt ſurrounded by the Eurotas. The other inland places of moſt note were Gerenea, Thurium, and Sellaſia. The ſea-ports were Praſiae, Cyphanta, Zarax; Limera, famous for its vines; and Gythium, whoſe capacious harbour was, in all ages, more than ſufficient to contain

[1] Iſocrat. in Archidam. calls the country Meſſené; Pauſanias, Meſſenia.

[2] Strabo, l. viii. p. 362. mentions this only as a hearſay; but it has been always repeated.

[3] Strabo ſays, "about thirty," and calls them πολίχναι, oppidula, little towns.

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the naval ſtrength of Sparta[4]. In the time of Lycurgus, the freemen, of full age, amounted to thirty-nine thouſand[5]. Thoſe of full age, are generally reckoned the fourth part of the whole; ſo that the free inhabitants of Laconia may be computed at one hundred and fifty-ſix thouſand; and the ſlaves, as will appear hereafter, probably exceeded four times that number.

and of Meſſenia.

Meſſenia was leſs extenſive, but more fertile, than Laconia; and the former country, in ancient times, was proportionably more populous. Both kingdoms were principally ſupported by agriculture and paſturage, their ſubjects never having attained any high degree of improvement in arts, manufactures, or commerce. Meſſenia was, however, adorned by the ſea-ports of Coronè, Pylus, Methonè, and Cyparyſſus. The moſt conſiderable inland towns were Andania, the ancient capital; the ſtrong fortreſs of Eira; the frontier town of Ampheia; and the celebrated Ithomè, near to the ruins of which was erected, by Epaminondas, the comparatively modern city of Meſſenè[6].

Spirit of government in both communities.

As the countries of Laconia and Meſſenia were both governed by kings of the family of Hercules, and both inhabited by ſubjects of the ſame Doric race, it might have been imagined that ſuch powerful connections would have diſpoſed them to continue in a ſtate of mutual friendſhip; or, if the ties of blood could not excite neighbouring ſtates

4 Strabo, l. viii. p. 363, &c. & Pauſan. in Lacon.
5 Plut. in Lycur.
6 Pauſan. in Meſſen. & Strabo, l. viii. p. 360, &c.

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to a reciprocation of good offices, that they would at leaſt have engaged them to maintain an inoffenſive tranquillity. The different branches of the family of Hercules were induced by intereſt, as well as perſuaded by affection, mutually to ſupport each other. When the prerogative was invaded in any particular kingdom, it was natural for the neighbouring princes to defend the cauſe of royalty [7]; and we find that, on ſeveral occaſions, they had engaged to aſſiſt each other in repreſſing the factious turbulence of the nobles, and the ſeditious ſpirit of the people. But when the influence of the family of Hercules declined with the abolition of monarchy in moſt countries of Greece, the capital of each little principality, which always enjoyed a pre-eminence in the national aſſemblies, began to uſurp an unlimited authority over the neighbouring cities, and to controul, by its municipal juriſdiction, the general reſolves of the community. Sparta had, in this manner, extended her power over the ſmaller towns of Laconia. The walls of Helos, whoſe inhabitants had pertinaciouſly reſiſted this uſurpation, were levelled with the ground, the citizens reduced to the moſt miſerable ſlavery, and a law enacted by the Spartan council, which forbade, under ſevere penalties, the emancipation of the Helots, or the ſelling of them into foreign countries, where they might entertain the flattering hopes of regaining their loſt liberty. The ſame tyrannical ſpirit which governed the meaſures of the Spartans, had taken poſſeſſion of

7 Iſocrat. in Archidam.

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their neighbours the Meſſenians, and had urged the inhabitants of the capital to invade, conquer, and enſlave ſeveral of the ſmaller cities.

General cauſes of the war between them.

While ſuch ambitious principles prevailed with both nations, it was ſcarcely to be imagined that the more powerful ſhould not exert its utmoſt ſtrength to obtain dominion, and the weaker its utmoſt courage and activity to preſerve independence. Beſides this general cauſe of animoſity, the rich fields of Meſſenia offered a tempting prize to the avarice of the Spartans; a circumſtance continually alleged by the Meſſenians, as the principal motive which had induced their enemies to commence an unjuſt and unprovoked war. The Spartans, however, by no means admitted this reproach. It was natural, indeed, that ſuch differences ſhould ariſe between the ſubjects of rival ſtates, as might furniſh either party with a plauſible pretence for taking arms. Theſe differences it will be proper briefly to relate, after premiſing, that, although the Greek hiſtorians mention *three* Meſſenian wars, the *third* had little reſemblance, either in its object, or in its effects, to the firſt and ſecond. Theſe were the generous ſtruggles of a warlike people for preſerving their hereditary freedom and renown, while the third, though dignified with the ſame appellation, was only an unſucceſsful revolt of ſlaves from their maſters.

Their mutual injuries.

On the confines of Meſſenia and Lacedæmon ſtood an ancient temple of Diana, which, being erected at the common expence, was open to the prayers and ſacrifices of the two nations. Hither,

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according to annual cuſtom, repaired a ſelect band of Spartan virgins to ſolemnize the chaſte rites of their favourite divinity. A company of Meſſenian youths arrived at the ſame time to perform their cuſtomary devotion, and to implore the protection of the warlike goddeſs. Inflamed by the beauty of the Spartan ladies, the Meſſenians equally diſregarded the ſanctity of the place, and the modeſt character of Diana, whoſe worſhip they came to celebrate. The licentious youths, after vainly attempting, by the moſt ardent prayers and vows, to move the ſtern inflexibility of Spartan virtue, had recourſe to brutal violence in order to conſummate their fatal deſigns; fatal to themſelves, to their country, and to the unhappy victims of their fury, who, unwilling to ſurvive ſo intolerable a diſgrace, periſhed miſerably by their own hands[8].

Euephnus, the Lacedæmonian, defrauds the Meſſenian Polychares. Olymp. ix. 1. A. C. 744.

To this atrocious injury, on the part of the Meſſenians, ſucceeded another, of a more private nature, on that of the Lacedæmonians. Polychares was a Meſſenian of noble birth, of great wealth, conſpicuous for the virtues of public and private life, and renowned for his victories in the Olympic games. The property of Polychares, like that of the moſt opulent of his countrymen, chiefly conſiſted in numerous herds of cattle; part of which he intruſted to a Lacedæmonian, of the name of Euephnus, who undertook, for a ſtipulated reward, to feed them on the rich meadow-

[8] Pauſan. in Meſſen. p. 222. The Meſſenians denied this whole tranſaction, and ſubſtituted a more improbable ſtory in its ſtead. Pauſan. ibid.

which

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which he poſſeſſed on the Lacedæmonian coaſt. The avarice of Euephnus was not reſtrained by the ſenſe of duty, the principles of honour, or the ſacred ties of hoſpitality. Having ſold the cattle to foreigners, who often came to purchaſe that article in Laconia, he travelled to the Meſſenian capital, and viſiting his friend Polychares, lamented the loſs of his property by the incurſion of pirates.

Aſſaſſinates his ſon.

The frequency of ſuch events would, probably, have concealed the fraud; but a ſlave, whom Euephnus ſold along with the cattle, having eſcaped the vigilance of his new maſters, arrived in time to undeceive the generous credulity of Polychares. The perfidious Lacedæmonian, ſeeing his contrivance thus unexpectedly diſconcerted, endeavoured to deprecate the juſt reſentment of his friend, by the moſt humiliating confeſſion of his guilt, and by inſiſting on the temptation of gain, the frailty of nature[9], the ſincerity of his repentance, and his earneſt deſire of making immediate reſtitution. Unfortunately, indeed, he had not any conſiderable ſum of money in his poſſeſſion; but if Polychares would allow his ſon to accompany him to Lacedæmon, he would put into the hands of the youth the full price which he had received for his father's property. On this occaſion it is eaſier to pity the misfortune, than excuſe the weak-

9 Ενεκα τῃ ανθρωπινῃ φυσει, και αλλων οντων, εφ' οις βιαζομεθα αδικοι γινεσθαι, τα κερδη μιγιστη αναγκη εχει. PAUSAN.

Et l'intérêt enfin père de tous les crimes. HENRIADE.

neſs,

neſs of the Meſſenian. The youth had no ſooner ſet foot on the Lacedæmonian territory, than the traitor Euephnus ſtabbed him to the heart.

Polychares takes vengeance on the Spartans.

The afflicted father, aſſembling his friends and followers, travelled to Sparta, and implored the juſt vengeance of the laws againſt the accumulated guilt of perfidy and murder. In vain he repeatedly addreſſed himſelf to the kings, to the Ephori, to the ſenate, and to the aſſembly. The money, the eloquence, the intrigues of Euephnus, and, above all, his character of Spartan, prevailed over the impotent ſolicitations of a Meſſenian ſtranger. Polychares, provoked by the cruel diſregard of the Lacedæmonians to his juſt demands, determined to return home; but having loſt his underſtanding through rage and deſpair, he aſſaulted and ſlew ſeveral Spartan citizens whom he met on the road; and after thus quenching his reſentment againſt the guilty in the blood of the innocent, he was conducted by the aſſiſtance of his friends to his native country.

The Spartan ſenate demands his perſon.

He had not long returned to Andania, when ambaſſadors arrived from the Spartan ſenate, demanding the perſon of ſuch an atrocious and open offender. The Meſſenians aſſembled to deliberate on this requeſt; and Androcles and Antiochus, who were jointly inveſted with the regal power, having differed, as uſually happened, in their opinions, each prince was ſupported by the ſtrength of a numerous faction. The debate was decided by an expedient often adopted in ſuch tumultuary aſſemblies. Both parties had recourſe to arms,

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and the sedition being fatal to Androcles, the opinion of Antiochus prevailed, who declared against delivering Polychares into the power of his enraged enemies. But Antiochus, though he denied the unreasonable demand of the Spartan ambassadors, dismissed them with a proposal, which left them no room to complain of injustice. He offered, in the name of the Messenian assembly, to refer all the differences between the two nations to the respected council of the Amphictyons. This equitable proposal, which ill suited the ambitious designs of Sparta, was not honoured with an answer from that republic, who, desirous to acquire the rich fields of Messenia, prepared for taking arms; and, having completed her preparations, bound her citizens, by oath, never to desist from hostility till they had effected their purpose [10].

The Messenians refuse to comply, but offer to refer the dispute to the Amphictyons.

Without an open declaration of war (for ambition had extinguished every sentiment of piety) they invaded the Messenian frontier, and attacked the small town of Ampheia, which, from its advantageous situation on a rock, seemed equally proper for infesting the enemy, and securing their own retreat [11]. The time chosen for the assault was the dead of night, when the unsuspecting inhabitants reposed in full confidence of their accustomed security. There was neither centinel

The Spartans surprise Ampheia. Olymp. ix. 2. A.C. 743.

10 Strabo expresses this oath strongly, but oddly, Ὁμοσαντες μη προτερον επανηξειν οικαδε, πριν η Μεσσηνην ανελειν η παντας αποθανειν. "Having sworn not to return home before that they either took "Messenia, or that they all died."

11 Ορμητηριον επιτηδειον. PAUSAN.

at

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at the gates, nor garriſon within the place. The alarm was immediately followed by execution. Many Ampheians were aſſaſſinated in their beds; ſeveral fled to the altars of the gods, the ſanctity of which proved a feeble protection againſt the Spartan cruelty; and a miſerable remnant eſcaped to diffuſe the melancholy tidings of their unexpected calamity.

Spirited reſolutions of the Meſſenians;

On this important emergency Euphaes, who had ſucceeded to the throne of his father Antiochus, ſummoned a general aſſembly of his countrymen to the plain of Stenyclara; where, after hearing the opinion of others concerning the critical ſituation of their affairs, he declared his own ſentiments, which were full of honour and magnanimity: "That the final event of the war was not "to be conjectured by its unfortunate beginning; "the Meſſenians, though leſs enured to arms than "their warlike opponents, would acquire both "ſkill and courage in purſuing the meaſures of a "juſt defence; and the gods, protectors of inno-"cence, would make the ſtruggles of virtuous "liberty prevail over the rude aſſaults of violence "and ambition." The diſcourſe of Euphaes was received with ſhouts of applauſe; and the Meſſenians, by advice of their king, abandoned the open country, and ſettled in ſuch of their towns as were beſt fortified by art or nature, leaving the remainder to the invaſion of an enemy, with whoſe bravery and numbers their own weakneſs was yet unable to contend. But while they kept within their walls, they continued to exerciſe themſelves in

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arms, and to acquire ſuch vigour and diſcipline, as might enable them to oppoſe the Spartans in the field. Four years elapſed from the taking of Ampheia before they ventured to embrace this dangerous meaſure. During all that time, the Spartans made annual incurſions into their country, deſtroying their harveſts, and carrying into captivity ſuch ſtraggling parties as they happened to ſurpriſe. They took care, however, not to demoliſh the houſes, to cut down the wood, or otherwiſe to diſfigure or deſolate a country, which they already regarded as their own.

who determine to riſk a battle; Olymp. x. 1. A. C. 740.

The Meſſenians, on the other hand, as their courage continued to increaſe, were not contented with defending their own walls, but detached, in ſmall parties, the boldeſt of their warriors to ravage the ſea-coaſt of Laconia. Encouraged by the ſucceſs of theſe predatory expeditions, Euphaes determined to take the field with the flower of the Meſſenian nation. The army of freemen was attended by an innumerable crowd of ſlaves, carrying wood and other materials neceſſary for encampment. Thus prepared, they put themſelves in motion, and, before they reached the frontier, were ſeen by the Spartan garriſon of Ampheia, who immediately ſounded the alarm of an approaching enemy. The Spartans flew to arms with more than their wonted alacrity, delighted with the opportunity for which they had ſo long wiſhed in vain, of deciding, at one blow, the event of a tedious war. The hoſtile armies approached with a celerity proportioned to the fury of their reſent-

reſentment, and arrived, with high expectations, at the intermediate plain which overſpread the confines of the two kingdoms. But there, the martial ardour of the troops received a check, which had not been foreſeen by their commanders. The rivulet interſecting the plain, was ſwelled by the rains into a torrent. This circumſtance prevented a general engagement. The cavalry alone (amounting on either ſide to about five hundred horſe) paſſed near the head of the ravine, and contended in an indeciſive ſkirmiſh; while the fury of the infantry evaporated in empty boaſts and unavailing inſults. Night inſenſibly came on, during which the Meſſenians fortified their camp with ſo much ſkill, that the enemy, rather than venture to ſtorm it, preferred to return home, after an expedition, which, conſidering their ſuperiority in numbers, appeared no leſs inglorious than ineffectual.

which proves indeciſive.

The puſillanimous behaviour of the Spartan army deſerved not the approbation of the ſenate. The ſevere fathers of the republic upbraided the degeneracy of the youth, who no longer paid regard to the ſanctity of the oath which they had taken, never to lay down their arms, until they had completely ſubdued the Meſſenians. The ſpirit of the ſenate was ſoon diffuſed through the community; and it was determined, in the general aſſembly of the nation, to prepare for carrying on a more fierce war than the enemy had yet experienced. At the approach of autumn, the ſeaſon always preferred for the predatory expeditions of

Spartans prepare for carrying on the war with vigour.

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those early times, all the Spartans of military age, as well as the inhabitants of the subordinate towns of Laconia, known by the general name of Lacedæmonians, were ready to take the field. After leaving a sufficient body of troops for the internal safety of the country, the number that might be spared abroad, probably amounted to about twenty thousand men. This powerful army was still farther increased by the confluence of strangers, particularly the Assinians and Dryopians, who fled from the cruel tyranny of Argos, a republic no less blameable than Sparta, for oppressive severity towards her weaker neighbours. Besides this reinforcement, the Spartans hired a considerable body of archers from Crete, to oppose the horse and light infantry of the Messenians. The management of the expedition was entrusted to the Spartan kings Theopompus and Polydorus; the former of whom commanded the right, and the latter the left wing, while the central division was committed to the discretion and valour of Euryleon, who, though born in Sparta, was descended from the royal race of Theban Cadmus.

Number of their forces.

Second engagement. Olymp. x. 2. A. C. 739.

Ancient writers have neglected to mention the scene of this second engagement, which Pausanias has, with more diffusiveness than accuracy, described in his historical journey through Messenia; but it is reasonable to conjecture, from this omission, that both the first and second battles happened near the same place, on the extensive plain which connects the frontiers of the two kingdoms.

The

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The Meſſenians were inferior, both in numbers and in diſcipline, but ardent in the cauſe of every thing moſt dear to them. Euphaes headed their left wing, which oppoſed the diviſion of Theopompus; Pytharatus led the right; and Cleonnis commanded the centre. Before the ſignal was given for charge, the commanders addreſſed their reſpective troops. Theopompus, with Laconic brevity, "reminded the Spartans of their oath, "and of the glory which their anceſtors had ac- "quired by ſubduing the territories of their neigh- "bours." Euphaes, at greater length, animated his ſoldiers to victory, by deſcribing the fatal conſequences of a defeat. "Their lands and for- "tunes were not the only objects of contention: "they had already experienced the Spartan cruelty "in the unhappy fate of Ampheia, where all the "men of a military age had been put to the "ſword; the women, as well as the children, with "their aged parents, ſubjected to an ignominious "ſervitude; their temples burnt or plundered; "the city levelled with the ground; and the "country deſolated. The calamities hitherto "confined to that little diſtrict, would be diffuſed "over the whole of their beautiful territory, unleſs "the active bravery of Meſſenia ſhould now, by a "noble effort of patriotiſm, overcome the num- "bers and diſcipline of Sparta." Encouraged by the ardour of their prince, the Meſſenians rather ran than marched to the battle. As they approached the enemy, they threatened them with their eyes and geſtures, reproaching them with an

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inſatiable avidity for wealth and power, an unnatural diſregard to the ties of blood, an impious contempt for their common gods, and particularly for the revered name of Hercules, the acknowledged founder and patron of both kingdoms. From words of reproach they made an eaſy tranſition to deeds of violence. Many quitted their ranks, and aſſailed the embattled phalanx of the Spartans. The wounded ſpent the laſt exertions [12] of their ſtrength in ſignal acts of vengeance, or employed their laſt breath in conjuring their companions to imitate the example of their bravery; and to maintain, by an honourable death, the ſafety and renown of their country. To the generous ardour of the Meſſenians, Sparta oppoſed the aſſured intrepidity of diſciplined valour. Her citizens, enured to the uſe of arms, cloſed their ranks, and remained firm in their reſpective poſts. Where the enemy in any part gave way, they followed them with an undiſturbed progreſs; and endeavoured, by the continuance of regular exertion, to overcome the deſultory efforts of rage, fury, and deſpair [13].

Fierceneſs and obſtinacy of the combatants.

Such were the principal differences in the ſentiments and conduct of two armies, both of which

[12] Agreeably to the melancholy firmneſs of the advice afterwards given by Tyrtæus to the Spartans,

Και τις απυθησκων υσατ' ακοντισατο.

TYRTÆUS, edit. Glaſſ. p. 4. ver. 5.

[13] The mode of fighting in that age is forcibly deſcribed by Tyrtæus, p. 7. edit. Glaſ. Αλλα τις ευ διαβας μινιτω ποσι αμφοτεροισι, to the end of the poem.

were

were alike animated by the love of glory and the desire of vengeance; paſſions which they carried to ſuch a length, that there was no example, on either ſide, of a ſoldier who deigned to ſeek for quarter, or who attempted to ſooth, by the promiſe of a large ranſom, the unrelenting cruelty of the victors. Emulation and avarice conſpired in deſpoiling the bodies of the ſlain. Amidſt this barbarous employment, which cuſtom only rendered honourable, many met with an untimely fate; for while they ſtripped the dead with the raſhneſs of blind avidity, they often expoſed their own perſons to the darts and ſwords of their enemies; and ſometimes the dying, by a fortunate wound, ſoothed the agonies of the preſent moment, and retaliated their paſt ſufferings on their unguarded deſpoilers. CHAP. IV.

The kings, who had hitherto been ſatisfied with leading their troops to action, and ſharing the common danger, longed, as the battle began to warm, to ſignalize their valour in ſingle combat. With this deſign Theopompus, liſtening only to his courage, firſt marched towards Euphaes, who, ſeeing him approach, cried out to his companions, "Does not Theopompus well imitate the bloody-minded Polynices[14], who, at the head of an army of ſtrangers, levied war againſt his native country, and, with his own hand, ſlew a brother, by whom, at the ſame inſtant, he himſelf was ſlain? In like manner does Theopompus, with unnatural hatred, perſecute his kinſmen The Spartan and Meſſenian kings prepare to engage in ſingle combat;

[14] See above, p. 26.

"of

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" of the race of Hercules; but I truſt he ſhall " meet the puniſhment due to his impiety." At ſight of this intereſting ſpectacle, the troops were inſpired with new ardour, and the battle raged with redoubled fury. The choſen bands, who reſpectively watched the ſafety of the contending princes, became inſenſible to perſonal danger, and only ſolicitous to preſerve the ſacred perſons of their kings. The ſtrength of Sparta, at length, began to yield to the activity of her rivals. The troops of Theopompus were broken and thrown into diſorder; and the reluctant prince was himſelf compelled to retire. At the ſame time the right wing of the Meſſenians, having loſt their leader Pytharatus, yielded to the exertions of Polydorus and his Spartans: but neither this general, nor king Euphaes, thought proper to purſue the flying enemy. It ſeemed more expedient to ſtrengthen, with their victorious troops, the central diviſions of their reſpective armies, which ſtill continued to fight with obſtinate valour, and doubtful ſucceſs. Night at length put an end to the engagement, which had proved extremely humiliating to both parties; for next morning neither offered to renew the battle, neither ventured to erect a trophy of victory; while both craved a ſuſpenſion of arms, for the purpoſe of interring the dead; a demand generally conſtrued as an acknowledgment of defeat.

Prevented by the ardour of their troops.

Extraordinary iſſue of the battle.

Its remote conſequences.

Although the immediate effects of the battle were alike deſtructive to the Spartans and to the Meſſenians, its remote conſequences were peculiarly

nearly ruinous to the latter. They were leſs rich and leſs numerous than their opponents; their army could not be recruited with the ſame facility; many of their ſlaves were bribed into the enemy's ſervice; and a peſtilential diſtemper, concurring with other misfortunes, reduced them to the laſt extremity of diſtreſs. The Spartans, mean while, carried on their annual incurſions with more than uſual cruelty, involving the huſbandman, with his labours, in undiſtinguiſhed ruin, and deſtroying by fire and ſword the wretched inhabitants of the unfortified cities. The miſerable ravages to which theſe cities were continually expoſed, obliged the Meſſenians to abandon them, and to ſeek refuge among the almoſt inacceſſible mountains of Ithomè; a place which, though ſituate near the frontiers of Laconia, afforded them the ſecureſt retreat amidſt their preſent calamities, being ſtrongly fortified by nature, and ſurrounded by a wall, which bid defiance to the battering engines known in that early age.

The Meſſenians ſhut themſelves up in the fortreſs Ithomè.

The Meſſenians, thus defended againſt external aſſaults, were ſtill expoſed to the danger of periſhing by famine. The apprehenſion of this new calamity gave additional poignancy to the feelings of their unhappy ſituation, and encreaſed the horrors of the peſtilence which raged more fiercely than ever among men cooped up within a narrow fortreſs. Under the preſſure of preſent, and the dread of future evil, their minds were favourably diſpoſed for admitting the terrors of ſuperſtition. A meſſenger was ſent to Delphi to enquire by what ſacrifice

Their ſufferings there.

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ſacrifice they might appeaſe the reſentment of the angry gods. On his return to Ithomè, he declared the ſtern anſwer of the god, which demanded the innocent blood of a virgin of the royal race.

Prepare to ſacrifice a virgin of the royal blood,

The Meſſenians prepared, in full aſſembly, to obey the horrid mandate. The lots were caſt, and the daughter of Lyciſcus was declared worthy of atoning, by her blood, for the ſins of the prince and people: but the father, who was only a diſtant branch of the royal family, allowed his paternal affection to prevail over the dictates of both his patriotiſm and his piety. By his advice, Ephebolus, a diviner, oppoſed the ſacrifice, aſſerting that the pretended princeſs was not what ſhe appeared, but a ſuppoſititious child, whom the artifice of the wife of Lyciſcus had adopted to conceal her barrenneſs. While the remonſtrances of the diviner engaged the attention of the aſſembly, Lyciſcus privately withdrew his daughter; and, eſcaping unobſerved through the gates of Ithomè, ſought protection, againſt the cruelty of fortune and of his friends, among the unrelenting enemies of his country.

who is withdrawn by her father.

Ariſtodemus devotes his own daughter.

He had already made conſiderable progreſs in his journey towards Sparta, when the diſcovery of his departure threw the Meſſenians into great conſternation; nor is it eaſy to determine what might have been the effect of their ſuperſtitious terrors, had not Ariſtodemus, another branch of the Herculean ſtock, and ſtill leſs diſtinguiſhed by birth than merit, voluntarily offered to devote his own child for the public ſafety. But this ſacrifice was likewiſe

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likewiſe oppoſed by a youth, who, paſſionately in love with the intended victim, cried out, that the young lady had been betrothed to him, and that it belonged to her deſtined huſband, not to her inhuman father, to diſpoſe of her life and fortune. When his noiſy clamours were little regarded by the aſſembly, he had the effrontery to aſſert, that the daughter of Ariſtodemus could not anſwer the condition required by the oracle; that, even before the nuptial rites had been conſummated, ſhe had pitied the violence of his paſſion, and that now ſhe carried in her womb the fruit of their unhappy loves. Ariſtodemus, hearing this declaration, was ſeized with rage and indignation at the unmerited diſgrace thrown on his family. "It "then appeared," ſays an ancient author [15], "with what eaſe deſtiny tarniſhes the feeble "virtues of men, as the ſlime of a river does "the ſhining ornaments which cover its humid "bed." The angry father plunged his dagger into the breaſt of his unfortunate daughter, and, with horrid barbarity, opening her womb in the preſence of the amazed aſſembly, demanded juſtice on the infamous impoſtor who had traduced her virtue. The Meſſenians were ſtill farther irritated againſt the youth, in conſequence of the opinion of Ephebolus, who declared that another victim muſt be ſought to appeaſe the anger of the gods, becauſe Ariſtodemus had ſacrificed his

Her lover oppoſes this deſign.

She is ſlain by her father.

[15] Pauſanias, p. 232. This might ſatisfy the ſuperſtition of antiquity, but will appear, in modern times, a poor excuſe for ſuch a ſhocking barbarity.

daughter,

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daughter, not in obedience to the oracle, but to gratify the impetuous paſſion of his own ungovernable ſoul. The rage of the aſſembly would have ſpeedily ſent the lover to attend the ſhade of his miſtreſs; but fortunately he was beloved and pitied by king Euphaes, whoſe authority controuled, on this occaſion, the audacious inſolence of a prieſt, and checked the wild fury of the populace. The king aſſerted that Apollo had no reaſon to complain of their diſobedience: the god demanded the blood of a virgin, a virgin had been ſlain; but neither did the Pythia determine, nor belonged it to them to enquire, by whoſe hands, or from what motive, the victim ſhould be put to death.

Obſtinate defence of the Meſſenians,

The oracle, thus favourably interpreted by the wiſdom of the prince, not only allayed the frantic rage, but reſtored the fainting hopes, of the people. They determined to defend their capital to the laſt extremity; and this generous reſolution, which they maintained inviolate during the courſe of ſeveral years, was juſtified by obſtinate exertions of valour.

who procure aſſiſtance from Argos and Arcadia.

The ſpirited and perſevering efforts of the Meſſenians, as well as the proud tyranny of Sparta, tended to procure, to the weaker ſtate, ſeveral uſeful alliances among the neighbouring republics. Of all the communities inhabiting the Peloponneſus, the Corinthians alone, as a maritime and commercial people, entertained little jealouſy of the Spartans; while the Argives and Arcadians, from proximity of ſituation, as well as interference

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of intereſt and ambition, held the diſciples of Lycurgus in peculiar deteſtation. By the aſſiſtance of theſe powerful allies, the Meſſenians gained conſiderable advantages in two general engagements; in the former of which their king Euphaes, betrayed by the ardour of ſucceſs into an unequal combat, was overpowered by numbers, and ſlain in the action. The valour of Ariſtodemus was called by the voice of the people to fill the vacant throne; and his conduct in war juſtified the high opinion entertained of him by his countrymen. For five years he baffled the aſpiring hopes of the Spartans; defeated them in ſeveral deſultory rencounters; and, in a pitched battle, fought near the walls of Ithomè, overcame the principal ſtrength of their republic, aſſiſted by that of the Corinthians.

Their tranſient ſucceſs.

This victory, though obtained by ſtratagem rather than by ſuperiority of courage or diſcipline, threw the Spartan ſenate into the greateſt perplexity, and deprived them of the expectation of putting a ſpeedy, or even a fortunate, end to the war. In their diſtreſs they had recourſe to the ſame oracle, which had relieved the afflictions of the Meſſenians. As the policy of the god ſeldom ſent away, in ill humour, the votaries of his ſhrine, the deſtruction of Ithomè was announced with prophetic obſcurity. The Spartans, with revived hopes, again took the field; and their new ardour was ſucceſsful in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with the Meſſenians, who, haraſſed by an open, were ſtill more fatally oppreſſed by a ſecret foe. The people were

Ithomè at length ſurrenders. Olymp. xiv. 1. A. C. 724.

again

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again ſeized with ſuperſtitious terrors. Dreams, viſions, and other prodigies confirmed the melancholy prediction of Apollo. The impatient temper of Ariſtodemus made him withdraw, by a voluntary death, from the evils which threatened his country. The other leaders of greateſt renown had periſhed in the field. Ithomè, deprived of its principal ſupport, and inveſted more cloſely than before, was compelled, after a ſiege of five months, to ſubmit to the ſlow but irreſiſtible impreſſions of famine. Such of its inhabitants as were entitled to the benefit of hoſpitality in Sicyon, Argos, or Arcadia, travelled with all poſſible expedition into thoſe countries. The ſacred families, who were attached to the miniſtry of Ceres, ſought a ſecure refuge among the venerable prieſts of Eleuſis, in Attica. The greater part of the people diſperſed themſelves through the interior towns and villages, endeavouring, in the obſcurity of their ancient habitations, to elude the induſtrious ſearch of an unrelenting enemy [16].

Conſequences of the firſt Meſſenian war.

The Lacedæmonians, having thus obtained poſſeſſion of the Meſſenian capital, diſcovered ſignal gratitude to their gods, fidelity to their allies, and cruelty to their enemies. Ithomè was demoliſhed to the foundation. Of its ſpoil, three tripods were conſecrated to Amyclean Apollo. The firſt was adorned with the image of Venus, the ſecond with that of Diana, and the third with the figures of Ceres and Proſerpine. To the Aſ-

16 Pauſan. Meſſen. & Strabo, l. viii.

ſinians,

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ſinians, who had aſſiſted them with peculiar alacrity in the war, the Spartans gave that beautiful portion of the Meſſenian coaſt, which aſſumed, and long retained, the name of its new inhabitants. They rewarded the good intentions of the Meſſenian Androcles, who, at the commencement of the war, had diſcovered his partiality for Sparta, by beſtowing on his deſcendants the fertile diſtrict Hyamia. The reſt of the Meſſenian nation were treated with all the rigour of Spartan policy. They were obliged to take an oath of allegiance to their proud victors, to preſent them every year with half the produce of their ſoil, and, under pain of the ſevereſt puniſhment, to appear in mourning habits, at the funerals of the Spartan kings and magiſtrates[17].

State of Greece at that time.

After the cloſe of the firſt Meſſenian war, Greece appears, for ſeveral years, to have enjoyed an unuſual degree of tranquillity. Peace promoted population; and the inhabitants of Peloponneſus continued to diffuſe their numerous colonies over the iſlands of Sicily and Corcyra, as well as over the ſouthern diviſion of Italy, afterwards known by the name of Magna Græcia[18]. In this delicious country two conſiderable eſtabliſhments were

[17] Pauſan. ibid.

[18] This name, as will be proved hereafter, denoted the Greek ſettlements both in Italy and Sicily. The colonies there became, in progreſs of time, perhaps more conſiderable than the mother-country. Their proceedings will be fully related in the following work; but not until their tranſactions enter into the general ſyſtem of Grecian politics.

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formed, about the ſame time, the one at Rhegium, and the other at Tarentum. Rhegium, ſituate on the ſouthern extremity of the continent, ſoon acquired the aſcendant over the neighbouring cities; and Tarentum, having become the moſt powerful community on the eaſtern coaſt, had the honour of giving name to the ſpacious bay, which penetrates ſo deeply into Italy, that it almoſt unites the Tuſcan and the Ionian ſeas.

The particular cauſes which occaſioned, or the various conſequences which attended, theſe ſeveral migrations, are not related in ancient hiſtory; the Lacedæmonian eſtabliſhment at Tarentum was alone marked by ſuch circumſtances as have merited, on account of their ſingularity, to be handed down to ſucceeding ages.

The Lacedæmonians found Tarentum in Italy.

During the ſecond expedition [19] of the Spartans againſt Meſſenia, the army, conſiſting of the greater part of the citizens who had attained the military age, bound themſelves, by oath, not to return home until they had ſubdued their enemies. This engagement detained them ſeveral years in the field, during which Sparta, inhabited only by women, children, and helpleſs old men, produced no ſucceeding generation to ſupport the future glories of the republic. Senſible of this inconvenience, which, in a warlike and ambitious ſtate, ſurrounded by warlike and ambitious rivals, might

[19] They had taken the ſame oath in the firſt expedition: but it appears from Pauſanias, that they did not obſerve it. The ſenators upbraided the youth with cowardice and contempt of their oath, δειλεαν και τȣ ορκȣ̀ υπεροψιαν. PAUSAN. p. 228.

have

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have been productive of the moſt dangerous conſequences, the ſenate recalled ſuch young men as, having left their country before they had attained the military age, were not under any obligation to keep the field; and enjoined them to aſſociate promiſcuously with the married women, that the city might thus be preſerved from decay and deſolation. The children born of theſe uſeful, though irregular connections, were diſtinguiſhed by the name of Partheniæ; probably denoting the condition of their mothers[20]. They had no certain father; nor were they entitled, though citizens of Sparta, to any private inheritance. Theſe circumſtances kept them a diſtinct body, the members of which were attached by the ſtricteſt friendſhip to each other, and hoſtile to the reſt of the community.

Conſpiracy of the Partheniæ and Helots.

This dangerous diſpoſition was ſtill farther encreaſed by the imprudent behaviour of the Spartans, who, on their return from the conqueſt of Meſſenia, treated the Partheniæ with the moſt ſupercilious contempt: The young men could endure poverty and misfortune, but could not brook diſgrace. Their unhappy ſituation, and the impatience with which they ſubmitted to it, naturally connected them with the Helots, thoſe miſerable ſlaves whoſe juſt indignation ever prompted them to revolt from the cruel tyranny of their maſters. A conſpiracy was formed; the day,

[20] Παρθενιας. Filius natus ex ea, quæ quum duceretur, virgo non erat. ARISTOT. Polit. l. v. c. 7.

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place, and ſignal were determined, upon which the Partheniæ and Helots, armed with concealed daggers, and with the moſt hoſtile fury, ſhould retaliate, in the public aſſembly, their paſt ſufferings and inſults on the unſuſpecting ſuperiority of the proud lords of Sparta. The time approached, and the deſign was ripe for execution, when the preſident of the aſſembly ordered the cryer to proclaim, That none preſent ſhould throw up his cap (for that had been the ſignal appointed by the conſpirators); and thus clearly intimated that the plot had been diſcovered, and that the Spartans were prepared to meet and to overcome the dangerous treachery of their dependants. We are not informed of the puniſhment inflicted on the Helots, or whether, as the conſpiracy had been laid open by one of their number, the merit of an individual was allowed to atone for the guilt of the ſociety. The Partheniæ, however, were treated with a remarkable degree of lenity, ſuggeſted, probably, by the fears, rather than by the humanity of Sparta[21]. They were not only allowed to eſcape unpuniſhed from their native country, but furniſhed with every thing neceſſary for undertaking a ſucceſsful expedition againſt the neighbouring coaſts; and thus enabled to eſtabliſh themſelves under their leader Phalantus, in the delightful receſſes of the Tarentine gulph[22].

[21] Ephor. apud Strab. l. vi.

[22] Pauſan. Phoc.

The

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The Meſſenians prepare to revolt. Olymp. xxiii. 4. A.C. 685.

The Spartans, when delivered from the danger of this formidable conſpiracy, enjoyed, above thirty years, domeſtic as well as public peace, until again diſturbed by the revolt of the Meſſenians. The diſhonourable conditions impoſed on that people, the toilſome labours to which moſt of them were neceſſarily condemned, in order to produce the expected tribute; the natural fertility of the ſoil, augmented by induſtry, and augmenting in its turn the populouſneſs of the country; all theſe cauſes conſpired to ſharpen their reſentment, to embitter their hoſtility, and to determine them, at every hazard, to expoſe their fortune to the deciſion of the ſword. The negligence of Sparta was favourable to the progreſs of rebellion. While ſhe degraded the Meſſenians by the moſt humiliating marks of ſervitude, ſhe allowed them, however, to rebuild their cities, to aſſemble in the public places, and to communicate to each other their mutual grievances and complaints. To reward the ſervices of Androcles, the Meſſenian king, ſhe had beſtowed on his family the rich province of Hyamia; but the deſcendants of that prince preferring the duties of patriotiſm to the dictates of gratitude, countenanced and encouraged the warlike diſpoſitions of his countrymen. The young men of Andania longed to take up arms. They were headed by Ariſtomenes, a youth deſcended from the ancient line of Meſſenian kings, adorned with the moſt extraordinary qualities of mind and body, and whoſe exploits, if inſtead of being ſung by Rhianus, and related by Pauſanias,

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they had been deſcribed by Xenophon, or celebrated by Homer, would place him in the firſt rank of Grecian heroes.

Obtain aſſiſtance from the Argives and Arcadians.

In entering upon this memorable war, the Meſſenians conſulted the dictates of prudence, at the ſame time that they indulged the motives of animoſity and ambition. Before diſcovering their intention to take arms, they diſpatched meſſengers to the Arcadians and Argives, intimating their inclination to throw off the yoke of Sparta, provided they could depend on the hearty aſſiſtance of their ancient allies. The Argives and Arcadians were naturally enemies to their warlike and ambitious neighbours; and, at this particular juncture, the enmity of the former towards Sparta was, by recent injuries, kindled into reſentment. Both nations confirmed, by the moſt flattering promiſes, the reſolution of the Meſſenians, who, with uncommon unanimity and concert, ſought deliverance from the oppreſſive ſeverity of their tyrants.

The battle of Derae.

The firſt engagement was fought at Derae, a village of Meſſenia. The ſoldiers, on both ſides, behaved with equal bravery; the victory was doubtful; but Ariſtomenes, the Meſſenian, acquired unrivalled glory and renown. On the field of battle he was ſaluted king by the admiring gratitude of his countrymen. He declined, however, the dangerous honours of royalty, declaring himſelf ſatisfied with the appellation of General, which, in that age, implied a ſuperiority in martial exerciſes, as well as in the knowledge of war, and in

Bravery and moderation of Ariſtomenes.

the

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the experience of command. The Meſſenian excelled in all theſe, and poſſeſſed, beſides, a degree of military enthuſiaſm, which, as it was employed to retrieve the deſperate affairs of his country, deſerves to be for ever remembered and admired. Senſible how much depended on the auſpicious beginning of the war, he immediately marched to Sparta; entered the city, which was neither walled nor lighted, during night; and ſuſpended in the temple of Minerva a buckler, inſcribed with his name, as a monument of his ſucceſs againſt the enemy, and an offering to procure the good-will of that warlike goddeſs.

The hardineſs of this exploit was rivalled by the ſingular intrepidity of his companions Panormus and Gonippus. While the Lacedæmonians celebrated, in their camp, the feſtival of their heroes Caſtor and Pollux, the two youths of Andania, mounted on fiery ſteeds, with lances in their hands, and a purple mantle flowing over their white veſtments, preſented themſelves in the midſt of the joyous aſſembly. The ſuperſtitious crowd, diſſolved in mirth and wine, imagined that their heavenly protectors had appeared in a human form, in order to grace the feſtival eſtabliſhed in their honour[23]. As they approached, unarmed, to pay their obeiſance to the divine brothers of Helen, the young Meſſenians couched their ſpears, attacked

The ſingular exploits of Panormus and Gonippus.

[23] Pauſanias, p. 266. However ſurpriſing this credulity may appear in the preſent age, it is atteſted by the moſt unqueſtionable evidence. Striking inſtances of it will occur in later periods of the Greek hiſtory.

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the multitude with irreſiſtible fury, ſlew them with their weapons, or trod them down with their horſes, and, before the aſſembly recovered from its ſurpriſe and conſternation, ſet out, in triumph, on their return to Andania.

The Spartans alarmed, have recourſe to the oracle.

Theſe exploits, and others of a ſimilar kind, which are not particularly recorded, were ſufficient to alarm the fears of the Spartans, and to make them ſeek the advice of Apollo. The oracle, when conſulted by what means they might change the ſucceſs of the war, ordered them to demand a general from Athens; a reſponſe highly mortifying to the high Spartan ſpirit, as their own kings, deſcended from Hercules, were the conſtitutional commanders of their armies. In compliance, however, with the mandate of the god, the haughtineſs of Sparta was obliged to make a requeſt which the jealouſy of Athens durſt not venture to refuſe. The Athenians, when informed of the oracle, immediately diſpatched to Sparta, Tyrtæus, a man who, like every Athenian citizen, had, indeed, borne arms, but who had never been diſtinguiſhed by any rank in the army. He was chiefly known to his fellow-citizens as a poet; a character in which he has been juſtly admired by ſucceeding ages[24]. Among the Spartans, how-

Olymp. xxiv. 2. A.C. 623.

The Athenians ſend them Tyrtæus, the poet.

[24] Inſignis Homerus,
Tyrtæuſque mares animos in martia bella,
Verſibus exacuit. HOR.

Three poems of Tyrtæus, containing the praiſe of valour, are preſerved in Stobæus; a fourth, on the ſame ſubject, in the only oration now remaining of Lycurgus the Athenian orator, the friend and rival of Demoſthenes. A few detached couplets may alſo be read in Strabo and Pauſanias.

ever,

ever, he was regarded as the ſacred meſſenger of the divinity; and his verſes were ſuppoſed to convey the inſtructions and ſentiments inſpired by his heavenly protector.

Succeſs of the Meſſenians under their heroic Ariſtomenes.

The heroic valour of Ariſtomenes long continued to prevail againſt the force of the oracle, as well as againſt all the other enemies of Meſſenia. He defeated the Spartans in three ſucceſſive engagements, the circumſtances of which are ſo ſimilar, that they have frequently been confounded with each other. They were all fought in the plain of Stenyclara, and the moſt remarkable at a place called the Boar's Monument, from a tradition that Hercules had anciently ſacrificed there an animal of that ſpecies. The Meſſenians were reinforced by the aſſiſtance of their allies of Elis and Sicyon, as well as of Argos and Arcadia. The Spartans were followed by the Corinthians, their ancient confederates, and by the citizens of Leprea, who choſe to ſeek the protection of Sparta, rather than ſubmit to the government of Elis. The combined army was commanded by Anaxander the Spartan king, whoſe influence, however, was rivalled by the authority of Hecatæus the diviner, and of Tyrtæus the poet. The Meſſenians had not a poet worthy of being oppoſed to Tyrtæus; but the predictions of their diviner Theocles were able, on ſome occaſions, to promote or to reſtrain the ardour of Ariſtomenes himſelf.

The ſucceſs of the engagement was chiefly owing to the ſpirited exertion of the Meſſenian general. At the head of a ſmall band of choſen com-

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companions, he charged the principal diviſion of the Spartan army, commanded by the king in perſon. The reſiſtance was obſtinate, and laſted for ſeveral hours. When the Spartans began to give way, Ariſtomenes ordered a new body of troops to complete his ſucceſs, to rout and purſue the enemy. He, with his little but determined band, attacked a ſecond diviſion of the Lacedæmonians, which ſtill continued firm in its poſt. Having compelled theſe alſo to retreat, he, with amazing rapidity, turned the valour of his troops againſt a third, and then againſt a fourth brigade [25], both of which giving ground, the whole army was put to flight, and purſued with great ſlaughter. The merit of theſe atchievements was, on the return of Ariſtomenes, celebrated with great pomp at Andania. The men received their favourite hero with joyous acclamations; and their women, ſtrowing his way with flowers, ſung in his praiſe a ſtanza that has reached modern times, expreſſing, with elegant ſimplicity, the glorious victory obtained over the Lacedæmonians.

The tribute of juſt applauſe paid to the virtues of Ariſtomenes inſpired him with a generous ambition to deſerve the ſincereſt gratitude of his countrymen. With unremitting activity he continued, with his little band of faithful adherents,

[25] Pauſanias acknowledges that the exploits of Ariſtomenes, in this engagement, almoſt exceed belief. Pauſan. Meſſen. There is a remarkable coincidence in the character and atchievements, as well as in the ſituation, of Ariſtomenes, and thoſe of the celebrated Scottiſh patriot Wallace. Vid. Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. l. viii. paſſim.

to

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to over-run the hoſtile territory, to deſtroy the defenceleſs villages, and to carry the inhabitants into ſervitude. The towns of Pharæ, Carya, and Egila ſucceſſively experienced the fatal effects of his ravages. In the firſt, he found a conſiderable booty, in money and commodities; in the ſecond, he found a booty ſtill more precious, the daughters of the principal inhabitants dancing in the chorus of Diana, whom he honourably protected againſt the licentious violence of his followers, and reſtored, uninjured, for the ranſom offered by their parents. After attacking Egila, Ariſtomenes met with an unexpected check from the enthuſiaſm of the Spartan matrons, who were offering ſacrifice to Ceres in a neighbouring temple, long held in peculiar veneration. As ſoon as they perceived the approach of the enemy, the women, who, according to the inſtitutions of Lycurgus, had been trained to all the manly exerciſes of the other ſex, iſſued forth from the temple, and aſſailing the Meſſenians with knives, hatchets, burning torches, and the other inſtruments of ſacrifice, threw them into diſorder, wounded ſeveral of the ſoldiers, and ſeized the perſon of their commander. Next day, however, Ariſtomenes was delivered from captivity, through the good offices of Archidamea, prieſteſs of Ceres, whoſe ſuſceptible heart had long admired and loved the merit and renown of the brave Meſſenian.

The amazing ſucceſs of the Meſſenians, which, in the courſe of three years, had been interrupted only

The Spartans animated by Tyrtæus.

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only by this inconſiderable accident, diſpoſed the Spartan kings to abandon the war, and to allow their enemies to enjoy the honour and advantages which they had ſo bravely earned. This reſolution was approved by the ſenate and aſſembly. The allies of Sparta readily adopted the ſame opinion. Tyrtæus alone oppoſed the diſgraceful meaſure, with all the force of his authority. The ſacred character of the bard, with the divine influence of his poetry, prevailed; and the Spartans again entered Meſſenia with an army, as numerous and powerful as any they had before collected. But at ſight of the Meſſenian troops, headed by Ariſtomenes, they were thrown into new conſternation. The dreaded proweſs of their heroic antagoniſt, which they had ſo often and ſo fatally experienced, continually preſented itſelf to their minds; and the inſpired arts of Tyrtæus were again neceſſary to reſiſt the increaſing panic. A ſecond time he revived their drooping courage, while he expatiated on the glory of ancient warriors; the magnanimity of deſpiſing fortune; the praiſe and honours of valour; the joys and rewards of victory[26]. Theſe ſentiments, dictated by the true ſpirit of heroiſm, fired their minds with martial ardour. Diſregarding the ſweets of life, they longed for an honourable death. One conſideration only (ſuch was the ſuperſtition of ancient times) damped the generous warmth that animated their ſouls. In an engagement, which there was every reaſon to believe

[26] Tyrtæus, p. 2 and 3. edit. Glaſg.

would

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would be fought with the moſt obſtinate valour on both ſides, what crowds of warriors muſt fall, whoſe bodies, heaped together in horrid confuſion, could not be recognized by their friends, or obtain, with due ſolemnity, the ſacred rites of funeral! This melancholy thought, which chilled the boldeſt heart with religious horror, might have formed an inſurmountable obſtacle to their ſucceſs, had not their terrors been removed by the prudent miſſionary of Apollo. By the advice of Tyrtæus, each ſoldier tied a token, inſcribed with his name and deſignation, round his right arm, by means of which his body, however disfigured[27], might be known to his friends and kindred. Thus fortified againſt the only illuſion that could alarm the minds of men who preferred death to a defeat, they ruſhed forward to attack their dreaded, and hitherto victorious, foes.

The battle of the Trenches.

The Meſſenian general had drawn up his forces at a place called the Great Ditch, from which this engagement has been called the battle of the Trenches[28]. The national ſtrength was reinforced by a conſiderable body of Arcadian troops, commanded by their king Ariſtocrates, to whoſe treachery, as much as to their own valour, the Spartans were indebted for the victory.

Treachery of Ariſtocrates, leader of the Arcadians.

The Spartans, though poſſeſſed of little private wealth, had a conſiderable public treaſure, with which they early began to bribe thoſe whom they

[27] Confuſa corporum lineamenta. JUSTIN.
[28] Polybius, l. iv. Strabo, l. viii.

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deſpaired to conquer. With this, perhaps, on many former occaſions, they had tempted the avarice of Ariſtocrates, who, from want of opportunity rather than of inclination to betray, had hitherto maintained his fidelity inviolate. But when he perceived the unuſual ardour which animated the enemy; and reflected, that if without his concurrence, victory ſhould declare itſelf on *their* ſide, he might for ever be deprived of an occaſion to earn the wages of his intended iniquity, he determined to abandon his ancient allies, and to enſure ſucceſs to the Lacedæmonians. In ſight of the two armies he explained and exaggerated to his troops the advantageous poſition of the Spartans; the difficulty of a retreat, in caſe they themſelves were obliged to give ground; and the inauſpicious omens which threatened deſtruction to Meſſené. In order to avoid the ruin ready to overtake their allies, he commanded his men to be prepared to follow him on the firſt ſignal for the engagement. When the charge was ſounded, and the Meſſenians were preparing to reſiſt the firſt onſet of the enemy, Ariſtocrates led off his Arcadians; and, to make his defection more apparent, croſſed the whole Meſſenian army. The Meſſenians, confounded with a treachery ſo bold and manifeſt, almoſt forgot that they were contending againſt the Spartans. Many forſook their ranks, and ran after the Arcadians, ſometimes conjuring them to return to their duty, and ſometimes reproaching them with their prefidious ingratitude. Their intreaties and inſults were alike vain; their army

The Meſſenians defeated.

army was ſurrounded almoſt on every ſide; the little band of Ariſtomenes alone, with pertinacious valour, reſiſting the efforts, and breaking through the embattled ſquadrons, of the enemy. Their example encouraged others of their countrymen to effect an eſcape by equal bravery; but, in attempting this dangerous meaſure, the greater part of the ſoldiers periſhed, as well as the generals Androcles, Phintas, and Phanas, perſons deſcended from the ancient ſtock of Meſſenian nobility, and who, next to Ariſtomenes, formed the principal ornament and defence of their declining country. CHAP. IV.

Magnanimity of Ariſtomenes:

Among the republics of ancient Greece, the fate of a nation often depended on the event of a battle. The contention was not between mercenary troops, who regarded war as a trade, which they carried on merely from intereſt, without emulation or reſentment. The citizens of free communities fought for their liberties and fortunes, their wives and children, and for every object held dear or valuable among men. In ſuch a ſtruggle they exerted the utmoſt efforts of their animoſity as well as of their ſtrength; nor did the conflict ceaſe, till the one party had reduced the other to extremity. It was not extraordinary, therefore, that after the bloody battle of the Trenches, the Meſſenians ſhould be unable to keep the field. Ariſtomenes, however, determined, while he preſerved his life, to maintain his independence. With this view he collected the miſerable remains of his unfortunate troops; aſſembled the ſcattered inhabitants of the open country; abandoned the cities and villages on the

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the plain to the mercy of the victors; and ſeized, with his little army, the ſtrong fortreſs of Eira, ſituate among the mountains which riſe along the ſouthern ſhore of Meſſenia, defended on the north by the river Neda, and open only on the ſouth towards the harbours of Pylus and Methonè, which offered it a plentiful ſupply of corn, fiſh, and other neceſſary proviſions.

he throws himſelf into the fortreſs of Eira;

A. C. 682—671.

In this ſituation the gallant Meſſenian reſiſted, for eleven years, the efforts of the Spartans, who endeavoured, with unremitting induſtry, to gain poſſeſſion of the fortreſs. Nor was he ſatisfied with defending the place; on various occaſions he made vigorous and ſucceſsful ſallies againſt the beſiegers. With a body of three hundred Meſſenians, of tried valour and fidelity, he, at different times, over-ran the Spartan territories, and plundered ſuch cities as were either weakly garriſoned or negligently defended. In order to put a ſtop to incurſions equally diſhonourable and deſtructive, the Spartans ordered their frontier to be laid waſte, and thus rendered incapable of affording ſubſiſtence to the enemy. But they themſelves were the firſt to feel the inconveniency of this meaſure. As the lands towards that frontier were the moſt fertile in the province, and the crops in other parts had failed through the inclemency of the ſeaſon, the Spartans were threatened with all the calamities of famine; to which the proprietors of the waſted grounds, deprived of their harveſts by a rigorous injunction of the ſtate, were prepared to add the horrors of a ſedition. Tyrtæus diſplayed, on this occaſion,

ravages the Spartan territories;

occaſion, the wonderful power of his art, by appeaſing the angry tumult, and teaching the Spartans patiently to bear, in the ſervice of their country, the loſs of fortune, as well as of life. CHAP. IV.

and plunders Amyclæ.

While the enemy were diſturbed by theſe commotions, Ariſtomenes ſet out from Eira, with his favourite band, and, marching all night, arrived by day-break at Amyclæ, a Lacedæmonian city, ſituate on the banks of the Eurotas, at the diſtance of a few miles from the capital. Having entered the place without reſiſtance, he carried off a conſiderable booty in ſlaves and merchandiſe, and returned to his mountains, before the Spartans, though appriſed of his incurſion, could arrive to the aſſiſtance of their neighbours.

Ariſtomenes taken priſoner.

A continued ſeries of ſuch exploits, carried on with equal ſucceſs, inſpired into the Meſſenians a degree of confidence, which had almoſt proved fatal to their cauſe. Neglecting that celerity, and thoſe precautions, to which they owed their paſt advantages, they began to continue ſo long in the field, that the Spartans found an opportunity to intercept their return. The little band of Ariſtomenes behaved with its uſual gallantry, and long defended itſelf againſt far ſuperior numbers, headed by the two kings of Sparta. The commander, after receiving many wounds, was taken priſoner; and, with fifty of his braveſt companions, carried in chains to the Lacedæmonian capital. The reſentment of that republic againſt thoſe who had inflicted on her ſuch dreadful calamities, was not to be gratified by an ordinary puniſhment. After

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Thrown into the Ceada.

much deliberation, the priſoners were thrown, alive, into the Ceada; a profound cavern, which was commonly employed as a receptacle for the moſt atrocious criminals. All the companions of Ariſtomenes were killed by the fall; he alone was preſerved by an accident, which, though natural enough in itſelf, has been diſfigured by many fabulous circumſtances [29]. The Spartans, who loved valour even in an enemy, permitted him, at his earneſt deſire, to be buried with his ſhield; a weapon of defence held in peculiar veneration by the Grecian ſoldiers. As he deſcended into the deep cavity, the edge or boſs of his ample buckler, ſtriking againſt the ſides of the pit, broke the force of the fall, and ſaved his life. Two days he continued in this miſerable dungeon, amidſt the ſtench and horror of dead bodies, his face covered with his cloak, waiting the ſlow approaches of certain death. The third day (at day-break) he heard a noiſe, and looking up, perceived a fox devouring the mangled remains of his companions. He allowed the animal to approach him, and catching hold of it with one hand, while he defended himſelf againſt its bite with the other, he determined to follow wherever it ſhould conduct him. The fox drew towards a chink in the rock, by which he had entered the cavity, and through which he intended to get out. Ariſtomenes then

His wonderful preſervation and eſcape.

[29] An eagle, it is ſaid, flew to his relief, which aroſe from his having a ſpread eagle on his ſhield. Pauſanias ſays, he ſaw the ſhield, which was preſerved in the ſubterraneous chapel of Trophonius at Labedea.

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gave liberty to his guide, whom he followed with much difficulty, ſcrambling through the paſſage which had been opened for his deliverance. He immediately took the road of Eira, and was received with pleaſing aſtoniſhment among his tranſported companions.

He ſurpriſes the Corinthian camp.

The news of his wonderful eſcape were ſoon conveyed to Sparta by ſome Meſſenian deſerters, whoſe information on ſuch a ſubject was not more credited, than if they had brought intelligence of one riſen from the dead. But, in the ſpace of a few days, the exploits of Ariſtomenes convinced the incredulity of the Spartans. He was informed by his ſcouts, that the Corinthians had ſent a powerful reinforcement to the beſiegers; that theſe troops were ſtill on their march, obſerving no order or diſcipline in the day, and encamping during night without guards or centinels. A general leſs active and leſs enterpriſing, would not have neglected ſo favourable an occaſion of annoying the enemy. But Ariſtomenes alone was capable of effecting this purpoſe by the means which were now employed. That no appearance of danger might alarm the negligence of the Corinthians, he ſet out unattended[30], waited their approach in concealment, attacked their camp in the dead of night, marked his route with blood, and returning loaded

[30] The exploits of Ariſtomenes often oblige us to remember the expreſſion in Pauſanias, p. 244; Αριστομενην δε εργα φασι αποδειξασθαι πλειον τι η ανδρα ενα εικος ην. "That he did more than ſeemed poſſible for any one man."

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with ſpoils to Eira, offered to Meſſenian Jove the *Hecatomphonia*; a ſacrifice of an hundred victims, which *he* alone was entitled to perform, who with his own hand had killed an hundred of his enemies. This was the third time the Meſſenian hero had celebrated the ſame tremendous rite.

The Lacedæmonians treacherouſly admitted into Eira.

Eleven years had the vigorous and perſevering efforts of a ſingle man prolonged the deſtiny of Eira. Ariſtomenes might have ſtill withſtood the impetuous ardour of the Spartans, but he could not withſtand the unerring oracles of Apollo, which predicted the fall of the devoted city. The purpoſe of the gods, however, was accompliſhed, not by open force, but by the ſecret treachery of a Lacedæmonian adulterer. This Lacedæmonian was the ſlave of Emperamus, a Spartan, who in the field yielded the poſt of honour only to the kings. The perfidious ſlave had eſcaped to the enemy with his maſter's property, and had formed an intrigue with a Meſſenian woman, whom he viſited as often as her huſband was called in his turn to guard the citadel. Amidſt the miſerable joys of their infamous commerce the lovers were one night diſturbed by the huſband, who loudly claimed admittance, which however he did not obtain till his wife had concealed the adulterer. When the wife, with the moſt inſidious flattery, enquiring by what exceſs of good fortune ſhe was bleſſed with her huſband's unexpected return, the ſimple Meſſenian related, that the inclemency of the weather had driven the ſoldiers from their poſts, the wind and thunder and rain being ſo violent that

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it was ſcarcely poſſible for them to continue any longer uncovered on the high grounds; nor could their deſertion be attended with any bad conſequences either to themſelves or to their country, as Ariſtomenes was prevented by a recent wound from walking the rounds as uſual, and as it could not be expected that the Spartans ſhould venture an attack againſt the citadel during the obſcurity and horror of a tempeſt. The Lacedæmonian ſlave overheard this recital, and thus obtained a piece of intelligence, which he well knew might not only atone for his paſt crimes, but entitle him to gratitude from his ancient maſter. He cautiouſly eſcaped from his concealment, and ſought with the utmoſt celerity the Spartan camp. Neither of the kings being then preſent, the command belonged to Emperamus, who readily pardoned the fortunate treachery of a ſervant that had afforded him the means of obtaining the higheſt object of his ambition. Notwithſtanding the ſlipperineſs of the ſteep aſcent, the Spartans, by the direction of the ſlave, mounted the unguarded citadel, and obtained poſſeſſion of all the principal poſts, before the Meſſenians became ſenſible of their danger.

Obſtinate defence of that place.

As ſoon as it was known that the enemy had entered into the city, Ariſtomenes, accompanied by the warlike prophet Theocles, together with their reſpective ſons Gorgus and Manticles, endeavoured to animate the deſpair of their fellow-citizens, and to make them defend to the laſt extremity, the little ſpot of ground to which they could yet apply the endearing name of country.

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Olymp. xxvii. 2. A.C. 671.

Such however were the terrors and confuſion of the night (the darkneſs, thunder, and tempeſt being rendered ſtill more dreadful by the preſence of an armed enemy), that it was impoſſible to form the Meſſenians into any order of battle that might enable them to act with concert or effect. As the morning dawned, they ſaw the danger more diſtinctly than before, and the impoſſibility of any other aſſiſtance than what may be derived from deſpair. They determined, at every hazard, to attack and penetrate the Spartan battalions. Even the women armed themſelves with tiles, with ſtones, with every weapon that preſented itſelf to their fury. They lamented that the violence of the wind prevented them from mounting to the roofs of the houſes, which they had purpoſed to throw down on the enemy; and declared that they would rather be buried under the ruins of their country, than dragged in captivity to Sparta. Such generous reſolutions ought to have retarded the fate of Meſſenè; but it ſeemed impoſſible to fight againſt ſuperior numbers, aided by the elements, and by the manifeſt partiality of the gods; for the thunder happening on the right of the Spartans, afforded them an auſpicious omen of future victory, and preſented to the Meſſenians the ſad proſpect of impending calamities.

Theſe circumſtances, ſo favourable to the Spartans, were improved by the prudence of Hecatus the diviner, who adviſed that the ſoldiers who compoſed the laſt ranks, as they could not be brought up to the attack, ſhould be remanded to the

the camp; and after refreſhing themſelves with ſleep and nouriſhment, recalled to the aſſiſtance of their countrymen. Thus, without depriving themſelves of preſent ſtrength, the Spartans provided for a future ſupply of freſh troops; while the Meſſenians, engaged in continual action with the aſſailants, were obliged at the ſame time to combat cold, ſleep, fatigue, and hunger. For three days and nights they withſtood the combined force of theſe finally irreſiſtible enemies; and when at length they began to give way, the diviner Theocles threw himſelf into the midſt of the Spartans, crying out, "That they were not always to be "victorious, nor the Meſſenians always to be their "ſlaves. Such was the will of the gods! who "commanded him to periſh in the wreck of a "country, which, in a future age, was deſtined to "riſe from its ruins."

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It might have been expected that the patriotiſm of Ariſtomenes would have choſen the ſame honourable occaſion of expiring with the freedom of his republic. But the general preferred life for the ſake of defending the ſmall remnant of a community, which, he flattered himſelf, would be immortal, not only from the prediction of Theocles, but from another circumſtance equally important. When the downfal of Eira was foretold by the oracle of Apollo, the prudent chief had removed to a place of ſecurity ſome ſacred pledges believed to contain the fate of Meſſenè. Theſe myſterious ſecurities conſiſted of thin plates of lead, rolled up in the form of a volume, on which was engraved

Ariſtomenes conducts a remnant of the Meſſenians towards Arcadia.

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graved an account of the hiſtory and worſhip of the goddeſſes Ceres and Proſerpine. Having concealed in mount Ithomè this invaluable monument, which had been delivered down in veneration from the remoteſt antiquity, Ariſtomenes determined never to deſpair of the fortune, or to forſake the intereſts of his country. Although he perceived, therefore, that it was now become neceſſary to relinquſh Eira, he did not, on this account, abandon the ſafety of its remaining citizens. In order to preſerve them, the only expedient that could be employed, with any hopes of ſucceſs, was the founding a retreat, and the collecting into one body ſuch of his ſoldiers as were not already too far engaged with the Spartans. Having accompliſhed this meaſure, he placed the women and children in the centre of the battalion, and committed the command of the rear to Gorgus and Manticles. He himſelf conducted the van, and marching towards the enemy with his ſpear equally poized, and with well-regulated valour, ſhewed, by his mien and countenance, that he was reſolved to defend to the laſt extremity the little remnant of the Meſſenian ſtate. The Spartans, as directed by Hecatus the diviner, opened their ranks, and allowed them to paſs unhurt, judiciouſly avoiding to irritate their deſpair. The Meſſenians abandoned their city, and in mournful ſilence marched towards Arcadia.

Their kind reception in that country.

As the wars of the Grecian republics were more bloody and deſtructive than thoſe of modern times, ſo were their alliances more generous and ſincere. When

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When the Arcadians were informed of the taking of Eira, they travelled in great numbers towards the frontiers of their kingdom, carrying with them victuals, clothing, and all things neceſſary to the relief of the unfortunate fugitives; whom having met at mount Lycæa, they invited into their cities, offered to divide with them their lands, and to give them their daughters in marriage [31].

Ariſtomenes purpoſes to ſurpriſe Sparta.

The generous ſympathy of the Arcadians animated Ariſtomenes to an exploit, the boldneſs of which little correſponded with the depreſſion incident to his preſent fortune. He had only five hundred ſoldiers whoſe activity and ſtrength were ſtill equal to their valour; and theſe he commanded, in the preſence of his allies, to march ſtraightway to Sparta. Three hundred Arcadians deſired to ſhare the glory of this ſpirited enterprize; and it was hoped, that as the greater part of the Lacedæmonians were employed in plundering Eira, this ſmall but valiant body of men might make a deep impreſſion on a city deprived of its uſual defence. The arrangements for this purpoſe were taken with the Arcadian king Ariſtocrates, whoſe behaviour at the battle of the Trenches had occaſioned the defeat of the Meſſenians, and whoſe artifice had ſince perſuaded them, that his ſhameful behaviour on that day was the effect of panic terror, not of perfidious intention. A ſecond time the treacherous Arcadian betrayed the cauſe of his country and its allies. Having retarded the execution of

Treachery and puniſhment of Ariſtocrates.

31 Polyb. l. iv.

Ariſto-

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Olymp. xxvii. 2. A.C. 671.

Ariſtomenes's project, on pretence that the appearance of the entrails was unfavourable, he diſpatched a confidential ſlave to Sparta, who diſcovered the imminent danger threatening that republic, to Anaxander the Lacedæmonian king. The ſlave was intercepted on his return, carrying a letter from that prince, in which he acknowledged the faithful ſervices of his ancient benefactor. Upon the diſcovery of this letter, which totally diſconcerted the intended enterprize againſt Sparta, the Arcadians, frantic with diſappointment and rage, ſtoned to death the perfidious traitor who diſgraced the name of king. The Meſſenians joined not in the execution of this ſubſtantial act of juſtice. Watching the countenance of Ariſtomenes, whoſe authority was equally powerful in the council and in the field, they obſerved, that inſtead of being agitated by reſentment, it was ſoftened by grief. The hero felt the deepeſt melancholy, on reflecting that the only deſign was now rendered abortive, by which he could ſoon hope to avenge the wrongs of his country. Both nations teſtified the moſt ſignal deteſtation of the character of Ariſtocrates. The Arcadians extinguiſhed his name, and extirpated his whole race. The Meſſenians erected a column near the temple of Lycæan Apollo (ſo named from mount Lycæa, on the confines of Arcadia), with an inſcription, ſetting forth his crime and puniſhment; aſſerting the impoſſibility of concealing treacherous baſeneſs from the inveſtigation of Time, and the penetrating mind

mind of Jove; and praying the god to defend and bleſs the land of Arcadia [32]. CHAP. IV.

Thus ended the ſecond Meſſenian war, in the autumn of the year ſix hundred and ſeventy-one before Chriſt. The fugitive Meſſenians experienced various fortunes. The aged and infirm were treated by the Arcadians, among whom they continued to reſide, with all the cordial attention of antient hoſpitality. The young and enterpriſing took leave of their benefactors, and under the conduct of Ariſtomenes repaired to Cylenè, an harbour belonging to the Eleans. Agreeably to the information which they had received, they found in that place their countrymen of Pylus and Methonè, with whom they conſulted about the means of acquiring new eſtabliſhments. It was determined, by the advice of their Elean friends, not to undertake any expedition for this purpoſe until the return of ſpring, when they ſhould again convene in full aſſembly, finally to conclude this important deliberation. Having met at the time appointed, they agreed unanimouſly to commit their future fortunes to the wiſdom and paternal care of Ariſtomenes, who declared his opinion for eſtabliſhing a diſtant colony, but declined the honour of conducting it in perſon, and named for this office the brave Meſſenian youths Gorgus and Manticles. The former of theſe inheriting his father's hatred againſt Sparta, adviſed his country-

Future fortune of the Meſſenians.

Olymp. xxvii. 3. A. C. 670.

[32] The inſcription is preſerved by Polybius, l. iv. and by Pauſanias, Meſſen.

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men to take poſſeſſion of the iſland of Zacynthus, which, from its ſituation in the Ionian ſea, lay conveniently for haraſſing the maritime parts of Laconia. Manticles propoſed a different opinion, obſerving that the iſland of Sardinia, though leſs advantageouſly ſituate for the purpoſes of revenge, was far better adapted to ſupply the neceſſary comforts of life; and that the Meſſenians, if once ſettled in that large and beautiful iſland, would ſoon forget the calamities which Sparta had inflicted on them. It is uncertain whether motives of vengeance or utility would have prevailed with the Meſſenians; for before any reſolution was taken on this important ſubject, a meſſenger arrived from Rhegium, then governed by Anaxilas, a prince deſcended from the royal houſe of Meſſenia, who invited his wandering countrymen to a ſafe and honourable retreat in his dominions. When, agreeably to this invitation, they arrived at Rhegium, Anaxilas informed them, that his ſubjects were continually haraſſed by the piratical depredations of the Zancleans, an Eolian colony [33], who poſſeſſed a delightful territory on the oppoſite coaſt. With the aſſiſtance of the Meſſenians it would be eaſy (he obſerved) to deſtroy that neſt of pirates; a meaſure by which the city of Rhegium might be delivered from very troubleſome neighbours, and the Meſſenians enabled to eſtabliſh themſelves in the moſt delicious ſituation of the whole Sicilian coaſt. The propoſal was re-

[33] Thucydid. l. vi.

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ceived with alacrity; the armament ſailed for Sicily; the Zancleans were beſieged by ſea and land. When they perceived that part of their wall was deſtroyed, and that they could derive no advantage from continuing in arms, they took refuge in the temples of their gods. Even from theſe reſpected aſylums the reſentment of Anaxilas was ready to tear them; but he was reſtrained by the humanity of the Meſſenians, who had learned from their own calamities to pity the unfortunate. The Zancleans, thus delivered from the ſword and from ſervitude, the ordinary conſequences of unſucceſsful war, ſwore eternal gratitude to their generous protectors. The Meſſenians returned this friendly ſentiment with an encreaſe of bounty; they allowed the Zancleans either to leave the place, or to remain in the honourable condition of citizens; the two nations gradually coaleſced into one community; and Zanclè, in memory of the conqueſt, changed its name to Meſſenè [34], a name which may ſtill be recognized after the revolution of twenty-five centuries.

34 Such is the account of Pauſanias, or rather of the ancient authors whom he follows. But it muſt not be diſſembled, that Herodotus, lib. vi. c. 23. Thucydides, p. 124. and Diodorus, lib. xi. place Anaxilas, king of Rhegium, much later than the ſecond Meſſenian war. It deſerves to be conſidered, that Pauſanias, writing expreſsly on the ſubject, is entitled to more credit than authors who only ſpeak of it incidentally. But when we reflect that theſe authors are Herodotus and Thucydides, there ſeems no way of ſolving the difficulty, but by ſuppoſing two princes of the name of Anaxilas, to the latter of whom his countrymen, by a ſpecies of flattery not uncommon in Greece, aſcribed the tranſactions of the firſt.

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and of Ariſtomenes.

It has been already obſerved, that Ariſtomenes declined the honour of conducting the colony. His ſubſequent fortune is differently related by ancient writers[35]. Pauſanias, to whom we are indebted for the fulleſt account of the Meſſenian hero, informs us, that he ſailed to the iſle of Rhodes with Demagetes, the king of the city and territory of Ialyſus in that iſland, who being adviſed by the oracle of Apollo to marry the daughter of the moſt illuſtrious character in Greece, had without heſitation preferred the daughter of Ariſtomenes. From Rhodes he ſailed to Ionia, and thence travelled to Sardis, with an intention of being preſented to Ardys king of the Lydians, probably to propoſe ſome enterprize to the ambition of that prince, which might finally be productive of benefit to Meſſene. But upon his arrival at Sardis he was ſeized with a diſtemper which put an end to his life. Other generals have defended their country with better ſucceſs, but none with greater glory; other characters are more fully delineated in ancient hiſtory, but none more deſerving of immortal fame; ſince whatever is known of Ariſtomenes tends to prove, that according to the ideas of his age and country, he united, in ſingular perfection, the merits of the citizen and of the ſoldier, the powers of the underſtanding and the virtues of the heart.

His death and character.

35 Confer. Pauſan. Meſſen. & Plin. l. xi. cap. 70. Val. Maxim. lib. i. cap. 8.

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State of the Peloponneſus after the Conqueſt of Meſſenia.—Of the Northern Republics of Greece.—Of the Grecian Colonies.—Revolutions in Government.—Military Tranſactions.—The firſt ſacred War.—Deſtruction of the Criſſean Republic.—Reſtoration of the Pythian Games.—Deſcription of the Gymnaſtic and Equeſtrian Exerciſes.—Hiſtory of Grecian Muſic.

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State of Greece after the conqueſt of Meſſenia, and firſt of the Peloponneſus. Olymp. xxviii. 1. A.C. 668.

THE conqueſt of Meſſenia rendered Sparta the moſt conſiderable power in Greece. The Peloponneſus, formerly comprehending ſeven, now contained only ſix independent ſtates. The ſubjects of Sparta alone occupied two-fifths of the whole peninſula. The remainder was unequally divided among the Corinthians, Achæans, Eleans, Arcadians, and Argives. In a narrow extent of territory, theſe ſmall communities exhibited a wonderful variety of character and manners. The central diſtrict of Arcadia, conſiſting of one continued cluſter of mountains, was inhabited by a hardy race of herdſmen, proud of their anceſtry, and confident in their own courage and the ſtrength of their country. Their Eolian extraction, their jealouſy, and their pride, made them diſdain connection with the Dorians, by whoſe poſſeſſions they were on all ſides ſurrounded. Careleſs of the arts of peace, they were engaged in unceaſing hoſtilities with

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with their neighbours, by whom they were deſpiſed as barbarians, and whom they contemned as upſtarts; ſince, amidſt all the revolutions of Peloponneſus, the Arcadians alone had ever maintained their original eſtabliſhments [1].

Contraſt between the Arcadians and Corinthians.

The induſtrious and wealthy Corinthians preſented a very different ſpectacle. Inhabiting the mountainous iſthmus, which, towering between two ſeas, connects the Peloponneſus with the north of Greece, the Corinthians long formed the principal centre of inland communication and foreign commerce [2]. Towards the ſouthern extremity of the iſthmus, and at the foot of their impregnable fortreſs Acro-Corinthus, they had built a fair and ſpacious city, extending its branches on either ſide, to the Saronic and Corinthian gulphs, whoſe oppoſite waves vainly aſſailed their narrow but lofty territory [3]. Their harbours and their commerce gave them colonies and a naval power. They are ſaid to have improved the very inconvenient ſhips, or rather long-boats, uſed in early times, into the more capacious form of Trireme [4] gallies.

[1] Pauſan. Arcad. Strabo, l. viii. p. 388.

[2] Pauſan. Corinth. c. iv. [3] Strabo, l. viii. p. 379.

[4] The Triremes, Quadriremes, Quinqueremes of the ancients, were ſo denominated from the number of the ranks, or tires, of oars on each ſide the veſſel; which number conſtituted what we may call the rate of the ancient ſhips of war. It was long a deſideratum in the ſcience of antiquities to determine the manner of arranging theſe ranks of oars, as well as to aſcertain the poſition of the rowers. The bulk of commentators and antiquaries placed the ſedilia, or ſeats, in rows, immediately above each other, upon the ſides of the veſſel, which they ſuppoſed perpendicular to the ſurface of the water,

lies [5]. Their ſea-fight againſt their rebellious colony, Corcyra, is the firſt naval engagement recorded in hiſtory [6]. It was fought ſix hundred and

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Political revolutions in Corinth. A. C. 779 —till 585.

[5] Thucydid. l. i. c. xiii. [6] Ibid.

water. But the leaſt knowledge of naval architecture deſtroys that ſuppoſition. The rowers, thus placed, muſt have obſtructed each other; they muſt have occupied too large a ſpace, and rowed with too unfavourable an angle on the ſhip's ſide; above all, the length and weight of the oars required for the upper tires, muſt have rendered the working of them totally impracticable, eſpecially as we know from ancient writers, that there was but one man to each oar. Theſe inconveniencies were pointed out by many; but the ingenuity of lieutenant-general Melvill explained how to remedy them. He conjectured that the waſte part of the ancient gallies, at the diſtance of a few feet above the water's edge, roſe obliquely, with an angle of 45°, or near it: that upon the inner ſides of this waſte part, the ſeats of the rowers, each about two feet in length, were fixed, horizontally in rows, with no more ſpace between each ſeat, and thoſe on all ſides of it, than ſhould be found neceſſary for the free movements of men when rowing together. The quincunx, or chequer order, would afford this advantage in the higheſt degree poſſible; and, in conſequence of the combination of two obliquities, the inconveniencies above-mentioned totally diſappear. In 1773 the general cauſed the fifth part of the waiſt of a Quinqueremis to be erected in the back yard of his houſe in Great Pulteney-ſtreet. This model contained, with ſufficient eaſe, in a very ſmall ſpace, thirty rowers, in five tires of ſix men in each, lengthways, making one-fifth part of the rowers on each ſide of a Quinqueremis, according to Polybius, who aſſigns three hundred for the whole complement, beſides one hundred and twenty fighting men. This conſtruction, the advantages of which appeared evident to thoſe who examined it, ſerves to explain many difficult paſſages of the Greek and Roman writers concerning naval matters. The general's diſcovery is confirmed by ancient monuments. On ſeveral pieces of ſculpture, particularly at Rome, he found the figures of war gallies, or parts of them, with the oars repreſented as coming down from oar holes diſpoſed chequerwiſe. In the Capo di Monte Palace at Naples, the reverſe of a large Medaglione of Gordianus has the figure of a Triremis, with three tires, each of fourteen or fifteen oars, iſſuing chequerwiſe from an oblique ſide. The collection at Portici contains ancient paintings of ſeveral gallies, one or two of which, by

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and fifty years before Chriſt, at which time the Corinthians (as the ideas of wealth and luxury are relative) were already regarded by their neighbours as a wealthy and luxurious people. The influence of wealth to produce ſervitude prevailed over that of commerce, which is favourable to liberty. Their government, after the abolition of monarchy, was uſurped by a numerous branch of the royal family, ſtyled Bacchiadæ [7]. This oligarchy was deſtroyed by Cypſelus, a mild and gentle ruler [8], whoſe family governed Corinth till the year five hundred and eighty-five before Chriſt.

Contraſt between the Argives and Achæans.

The contraſt between Arcadia and Corinth was not more ſtriking than that between Argolis and Achaïa. The citizens of Argos, having expelled their kings, were ſeized with an ambition to reduce and domineer over the inferior towns in the province. The inſolence of the capital provoked the indignation of the country. Mycenæ, Trœzenè, Epidaurus, and other places of leſs note, were often conquered, but never thoroughly ſubdued. Intereſt taught them to unite; and union enabled them to ſet at defiance the power of Ar-

7 Pauſan. Corinth. 8 Ariſtot. Polit. l. v. c. xii.

preſenting the ſtern part, ſhew both the obliquity of the ſides, and the rows of oars reaching to the water.——The ſubſtance of this note is already publiſhed in governor Pownall's Antiquities. The governor, however, ſpeaks of a gallery for the rowers, which I did not obſerve in the general's model; nor do I apprehend that ſuch a gallery could be neceſſary, as the purpoſe for which it is ſuppoſed to have been intended, is completely anſwered by the waſte part of the veſſel.

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gos, by which they were branded as rebellious, and which they reproached as tyrannical [9]. The fortunate diſtrict of Achaia, having ſucceſsfully reſiſted the oppreſſion of Ogygus, an unworthy deſcendant of Agamemnon, eſtabliſhed, at a very early period, a democratical form of policy [10]. Twelve cities, each of which retained its municipal juriſdiction, united on a foot of perfect equality and freedom. This equitable confederacy prepared the way for the Achæan laws, ſo celebrated in later times, when the cauſe of Greece, ſhamefully abandoned by more powerful guardians, was defended by the feeble communities of Achaia [11].

Between the Lacedæmonians and Elians.

We have already had occaſion to explain the important inſtitutions of Iphitus and Lycurgus. The very oppoſite ſyſtems adopted by theſe great legiſlators, reſpectively ſuited the weakneſs of Elis and the ſtrength of Sparta, and occaſioned a remarkable contraſt between the peaceful tranquillity of the former republic [12] and the warlike ambition of the latter, the lines of whoſe national character grew more bold and deciſive after the Meſſenian conqueſt. The piteous remnant of the Meſſenians, who had defended their freedom with the moſt perſevering bravery, was reduced to a cruel and ignominious ſervitude. Confounded with the miſerable maſs of Helots, thoſe wretched

9 Pauſan. l. vi. c. xxi. Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. p. 275.
10 Pauſan. Achaic. Strabo, l. viii. p. 383, & ſeq.
11 Polyb. l. ii. 12 Pauſan. Eliac. & Strabo, l. viii.

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victims of Spartan cruelty, they were condemned to laborious drudgery, expoſed to daily inſult, and compelled (ſtill more intolerable!) to tend their own flocks, and cultivate their own fields, for the benefit of unrelenting tyrants[13]. The haughty temper of the Spartans became continually more preſumptuous. They totally diſdained ſuch arts and employments as they uſually ſaw practiſed by the induſtry of ſlaves. War, and hunting as the image of war, were the only occupations which it ſuited their dignity to purſue; and this conſtant exerciſe in arms, directed by the military code of Lycurgus, rendered them ſuperior in the field of battle, not only to the neighbouring ſtates of Peloponneſus, but to the braveſt and moſt renowned republics beyond the Corinthian iſthmus.

State of the northern republics of Greece. Of the Grecian colonies.

While the Grecian peninſula was agitated by the ſtubborn conflict between the Spartans and Meſſenians, the northern ſtates had been diſturbed by petty wars, and torn by domeſtic diſcord[14]. The Greek ſettlements in Thrace, in Africa, and Magna Græcia, were yet too feeble to attract the regard of hiſtory. But, during the period now under review, the Aſiatic colonies, as ſhall be explained in a ſubſequent chapter, far ſurpaſſed their European brethren in ſplendor and proſperity.

Political revolutions in Athens.

Having aboliſhed the regal office, the Athenians, whoſe political revolutions were followed with remarkable uniformity by neighbouring ſtates,

[13] Pauſanias Meſſeniac. [14] Thucydid. l. i.

ſubmitted

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ſubmitted the chief adminiſtration of their affairs to a magiſtrate entitled Archon, or ruler. The authority of the Archon long continued hereditary: A.C. 754. it became afterwards decennial: at length nine A.C. 684. annual Archons were appointed by the powerful claſs of nobility, conſiſting not only of the deſcendants of ſuch foreign princes as had taken refuge in Athens, but of thoſe Athenian families which time and accident had raiſed to opulence and diſtinction. The great body of the people gained nothing by theſe revolutions. The equeſtrian order, ſo called from their fighting on horſeback, which before the improvement of tactics rendered them ſuperior in every rencounter with the diſorderly rabble, enjoyed all authority, religious, civil, and military[15]. The Athenian po- A.C. 594. pulace were reduced to a condition of miſerable ſervitude; nor did they recover their ancient and hereditary freedom until the admired inſtitutions of Theſeus were reſtored and improved by Solon, towards the beginning of the ſixth century before Chriſt.

Unimportance of the military tranſactions preceding the firſt Sacred War.

The domeſtic diſſenſions which prevailed in every ſtate beyond the iſthmus, were only interrupted by foreign hoſtilities. Interference of intereſt occaſioned innumerable conteſts between the Phocians and Thebans, the Dorians and Theſſalians, the Locrians and Ætolians. Their various Olymp. xlvi. inroads, battles, and ſieges, which were begun A.C. 690. with paſſion, carried on without prudence, and

[15] Ariſtot. Politic. l. iv. c. xiii.

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concluded without producing any permanent effect, have been conſigned by ancient hiſtorians to a juſt oblivion. But the firſt Sacred War is recommended to our attention, both on account of the cauſe from which it aroſe, and the conſequences with which it was attended. This memorable enterprize was occaſioned by an injury committed againſt the oracle of Delphi; it was undertaken by order of the Amphictyons; it ended in the total deſtruction of the cities accuſed of ſacrilegious outrage; and its ſucceſsful concluſion was celebrated by the Pythian games and feſtival, which, of all Grecian inſtitutions, had the moſt direct as well as moſt powerful tendency to refine rudeneſs and ſoften barbarity.

Deſcription of the republic of Criſſa.

The territory of the Criſſeans, lying to the ſouth of Delphi, comprehended, in an extent of about twenty-four miles in length and fifteen in breadth, three large and flouriſhing cities; Criſſa, the capital, which gave name to the province; Cirrha, advantageouſly ſituated for commerce on the weſtern ſide of a creek of the Corinthian Gulph; and Anticirrha, on the eaſtern ſide of the ſame creek, celebrated for the production of hellebore, as well as for the ſkill with which the natives prepared that medicinal plant, the virtues of which were ſo much extolled and exaggerated by credulous antiquity [16].

Its proſperity and inſolence.

The Criſſeans poſſeſſed all the means of happineſs, but knew not how to enjoy them. Their

[16] Strabo and Pliny.

territory,

territory, though ſmall, was fertile; and as its value was enhanced by the comparative ſterility of the greateſt part of Phocis [17], it acquired and deſerved the epithet of *Happy*. Their harbour was frequented by the veſſels, not only of Greece, but of Italy and Sicily; they carried on an extenſive foreign commerce, conſidering the limited communication between diſtant countries in that early age; and the neighbourhood of Delphi, at which it was impoſſible to arrive without paſſing through their dominions, brought them conſiderable acceſſions of wealth [18], as well as of dignity and reſpect. But theſe advantages, inſtead of ſatisfying, increaſed the natural avidity of the Criſſeans. They began to exact vexatious and exorbitant duties from the merchants who came to expoſe their wares in the ſacred city, which, on account of the great concourſe of profligate pilgrims from every quarter, ſoon became the ſeat, not of devotion only, but of diſſipation, vanity, and licentious pleaſure. It was in vain for the merchants to exclaim againſt theſe unexampled impoſitions; the taxes were continually encreaſed; the evil admitted not the expectation of either remedy or relief; and the ſtrangers, familiariſed to it by cuſtom, began to ſubmit without murmur; and perhaps endured the hardſhip with the greater patience, when they perceived that they drew back the tax in the increaſed price of their commodities. Encouraged by this acquieſcence in their tyranny, the Criſſeans

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Exacts contributions from the merchants and ſtrangers who reſorted to the oracle of Delphi.

[17] Strabo, p. 323, & ſeq. [18] Pauſan. in Phocic.

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levied a ſevere impoſt on the pilgrims, whether Greeks or Barbarians, who viſited the temple of Apollo; a meaſure directly inconſiſtent with a decree of the Amphictyons, which declared that all men ſhould have free acceſs to the oracle [19], as well as extremely hurtful to the intereſt of the Delphians, who ſoon felt a gradual diminution of their profits from the holy ſhrine. It was natural for thoſe who ſuſtained a loſs, either of gain or of authority, to remonſtrate againſt the extortions of the Criſſeans; but their remonſtrances, inſtead of producing any happy alteration of behaviour, only exaſperated men grown inſolent through proſperity. In the time of profound peace, the Criſſeans, provoked by uſeful admonitions, which they proudly called threats, entered with an armed force the territories of their neighbours; deſtroyed every thing that oppoſed them with fire and ſword; laid the defenceleſs cities under heavy contributions, and carried many of the inhabitants into ſervitude [20]. Delphi itſelf, however much it was revered in Greece, and reſpected even by the moſt diſtant nations, appeared to the ſacrilegious invaders an object better fitted to gratify luſt of plunder, than to excite emotions of piety. Neighbourhood had rendered them familiar with the woods, temples, and grottoes, of the preſiding divinity; with the manners and character of many of his miniſters they were probably too well acquainted to hold them in much reverence;

19 Strabo, l. ix. p. 418.

20 Æſchin. in Cteſiphont.

and

and having deſerved their reſentment by what they had already done, they reſolved to render it impotent by what they ſhould next accompliſh.

The deſign of plundering Delphi was no ſooner formed than executed. The imaginations of men were not prepared for ſuch an event; nor had any meaſures been taken to prevent ſuch an unexpected and abominable profanation. The enemy meeting with no reſiſtance, became maſters of the temple, and ſeized the rich votive offerings accumulated by the pious generoſity of ages. Thence they paſſed into the ſacred wood, and, rendered furious through pride or guilt, attacked, plundered, and murdered the promiſcuous crowd, who were employed in the uſual exerciſe of their devotions. The young were violated with a licentious rage which bid defiance to decency and nature. Even a deputation of the Amphictyons, clothed in the venerable garb and bearing the reſpected enſigns of their office, were repelled with blows and inſults, while they vainly attempted to ſtop the fatal progreſs of theſe frantic and impious outrages, committed againſt every thing held ſacred among men [21].

The Criſſeans plunder the ſhrine of Delphi.

The Amphictyonic council, to whom it belonged to judge and to puniſh the atrocious enormities of the Criſſeans, experienced, in an uncommon degree, thoſe inconveniencies to which all numerous aſſemblies are in ſome meaſure liable. Their proceedings were retarded by formality, warped by

Meaſures of the Amphictyonic council.

[21] Pauſan. in Phocic.

prejudice,

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prejudice, and diſturbed by diſſenſion. Notwithſtanding the aggravated crimes of the Criſſeans, it was not without encountering many difficulties and much oppoſition, that Solon, one of the Athenian repreſentatives, rouſed his aſſociates to the reſolution of avenging the offended majeſty of religion, the violated laws of nature, and their own perſonal injuries. When at length they agreed to this uſeful and pious deſign, the meaſures purſued on the preſent occaſion, as well as in all the future wars undertaken by their authority, were equally ſlow and indeciſive. The forces which they at firſt brought into the field were by no means equal to the enterprize for which they were deſigned. After various reinforcements, they attempted ineffectually, during nine ſummers and winters, to reduce the towns of Criſſa and Cirrha, which finally ſubmitted, in the tenth year of the war, rather to the art than to the power of the beſiegers.

The principal events in the Sacred War.

The events of the preceding years ſtrongly paint the ignorance, the ſuperſtition, and the rude manners of the times. The Criſſeans had no ſooner plundered, than they abandoned the temple of Apollo. Thither, by the advice of Solon, the Amphictyons ſent meſſengers, to conſult the oracle concerning the proper means, as well as the juſt meaſure, of their vengeance. They were commanded inſtantly to levy war on the Criſſeans; to perſecute them to the laſt extremity; to demoliſh their towns, to deſolate their country, and after conſecrating it to Apollo, Diana, Latona, and Minerva,

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Minerva, to prevent it from ever thenceforth being cultivated for the ſervice of man [22]. In obedience to this peremptory injunction of the god, the Amphictyons returned to their ſeveral republics, in order to collect troops, and to animate the exertions of their countrymen in the common cauſe. The Greeks however were too deeply engaged in domeſtic diſſenſions, to make effectual efforts for the glory of Apollo. Few adventurers repaired to the holy ſtandard; and the war, neither ſupported by vigour of execution, nor directed by wiſdom of deliberation, languiſhed for ſeveral years under different generals. At length Eurylochus, a Theſſalian prince of great valour and activity, was entruſted with the command of the Amphictyonic army [23]. The new general waited till the time of harveſt, to ravage the open country, to deſtroy the villages by fire and ſword, and to deſolate the *happy* Criſſean plain.

Siege of Criſſa.

On ſeveral occaſions he defeated the army of the Criſſeans, who made frequent and vigorous ſallies in order to defend their poſſeſſions. But when he attempted to make an impreſſion on the fortified ſtrength of Criſſa, its thick walls, its lofty towers, and above all, the activity and courage of its citizens, preſented obſtacles which it was impoſſible to ſurmount. The art of beſieging towns ſtill continued in a ſtate of great imperfection. The battering-rams, and other engines employed in this operation of war, were of too rude a conſtruc-

[22] Æſchin. ibid.

[23] Plut. in Solon. Strabo, l. ix. Polyænus, l. vi. c. xv.

tion

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tion to make ſuch a breach in the walls as might not eaſily be repaired. It was in vain that Eurylochus attempted by blockade to reduce the place. The enemy were furniſhed with all neceſſaries in great abundance, from the well-frequented port of Cirrha. Years thus paſſed away, and nothing deciſive was effected. The beſiegers, fatigued with labour, and uneaſy at diſappointment, had often abandoned their camp, and cantoned themſelves on the borders of the Criſſean territory, where they expected more ſalutary ſupplies of proviſions.

Peſtilence in the army of the beſiegers,

When they again returned to their duty, they were afflicted, in the ninth year of the war, with a peſtilential, or at leaſt an epidemic diſorder, occaſioned by the want of wholeſome food, the great numbers of men cooped up during the warm ſeaſon within a narrow ſpace, or by ſome unknown malignity of the atmoſphere. A great part of the army fell a prey to the increaſing contagion. Anxious for the public ſafety, the Amphictyons had recourſe to the wiſdom of Apollo, who, inſtead of recommending to them the aid of an able phyſician, exhorted them to bring from the iſle of Cos the *fawn with gold*. Ambaſſadors were immediately diſpatched to that iſland, in order to unravel the meaning of the god, thus wrapped up in its cuſtomary veil of myſtic obſcurity. They had no

remedied by Nebros of Cos.

ſooner explained their commiſſion in the Coan aſſembly, than an eminent citizen, named Nebros, riſing up, declared the ſenſe of the oracle. "I "am the fawn," ſaid he, "pointed out by Apollo,"

(for

(for Nebros in Greek ſignifies a fawn), "and my "ſon Chryſos" (which is the Greek word for gold) "has carried off the prize of ſtrength, courage, "and beauty, from all his competitors." The perſon who thus ſpoke was juſtly celebrated, on account of his anceſtor Eſculapius, of his deſcendant Hippocrates [24], and of his own unrivalled proficiency in the healing art. The knowledge of phyſic was become the hereditary honour, and almoſt the appropriated poſſeſſion, of his family, by which it had been cultivated for many ages, and to which it is ſuppoſed even at preſent to owe its principal improvement and perfection. Nebros obeyed with alacrity the injunction of Apollo, the peculiar patron of the ſcience in which he excelled. At his own expence, he equipped a veſſel of fifty oars, loaded with valuable medicines, as well as with warlike ſtores, and accompanied by his ſon Chryſos, ſet ſail with the Amphictyonic ambaſſadors, in order to cure the confederates, and to conquer the Criſſeans.

Sack of Criſſa.

His advice, his prudence, and his aſſiduity, reſtored the decaying health of the army. Their numbers, however, were already ſo much diminiſhed, that it ſeemed impoſſible by open force to put a ſucceſsful end to the war. On this occaſion the artful Coan employed a ſtratagem, which would

[24] We owe, almoſt entirely, the hiſtory recorded in the text, to an oration of Theſſalus, ſon of Hippocrates, addreſſed to the Athenians. It is publiſhed among the letters of his father. Vid. Hippocrat. Opera, ex edit. Fæſii, v. ii. p. 1291. There are ſome learned diſſertations on the ſubject in the 5th and 7th volumes of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres.

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have appeared entirely inconſiſtent with the laws of arms which had long been eſtabliſhed in Greece, if it had not ſeemed to be the dictate of a divine admonition. The horſe of Eurylochus was obſerved for ſeveral days to roll on the ſand, and to ſtrike his foot with great violence againſt a particular ſpot of ground. In digging under this ground, a wooden pipe was diſcovered, which ſupplied Criſſa with water. The extraordinary means by which this diſcovery was made, convinced the ignorant credulity of the Greeks, that ſome important advantage might be derived from it; and upon mature deliberation it was concluded, that Apollo had thus ſuggeſted a contrivance for deſtroying his own and their enemies. Complying therefore with the heavenly intimation, Nebros poiſoned the conduit of water; and the effect of this deteſtable artifice was ſoon diſcernible in the languid efforts and diminiſhed reſiſtance of the beſieged. The beſiegers, on the other hand, encouraged by the evident partiality of the gods, carried on their operations with redoubled vigour. A reward was propoſed for the man who ſhould firſt mount the walls, an honour obtained by the youthful ardour of Chryſos. The city was thus taken by aſſault; the fortifications were demoliſhed, the houſes burnt, and the inhabitants treated with a ſeverity proportioned to the atrocious enormity of their own crimes, and the exaſperated reſentment of the victors.

Conſecration of the Cirrhean plain

The command of Apollo, however, was not completely executed by the deſtruction of the Criſ-

ſean capital. Part of that impious community ſtill ſubſiſted in the maritime town of Cirrha, the reduction of which muſt have preſented great difficulties to the Amphictyons, ſince it was neceſſary for them a third time to have recourſe to the oracle. The anſwer delivered on this occaſion was involved in twofold obſcurity. The words of the god, at all times dark and doubtful, now ſeemed abſolutely unintelligible, ſince he made the taking of Cirrha, an event which there was every reaſon to expect, depend on a circumſtance that appeared at firſt ſight impoſſible. "You ſhall not "overturn," ſaid he, "the lofty towers of Cir-"rha, until the foaming billows of blue-eyed Am-"phitrité beat againſt the reſounding ſhores of "the Holy Land." How could the ſea be conveyed for ſeveral leagues over rocks and mountains, ſo that its waves might daſh againſt the craggy precipices which ſurround the ſacred groves of Delphi? This was an enigma which the oldeſt and moſt experienced members of the Amphictyonic council acknowledged themſelves unable to explain. The condition, on which ſucceſs was promiſed them, ſeemed incapable of being fulfilled; the inhabitants of Cirrha flattered themſelves with hopes of unalterable ſecurity; and the wiſeſt of the Amphictyons gave their opinion, that there was good reaſon to abandon an enterpriſe which ſeemed diſagreeable to Apollo, by whoſe advice the war had been originally undertaken.

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While theſe ſentiments univerſally prevailed in both armies, Solon, the Athenian, alone ventured

adviſed by Solon,

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to propoſe an advice more advantageous for the confederates, as well as more honourable for the holy ſhrine. His ſuperior wiſdom taught him the impiety of ſuppoſing that the god ſhould require an impoſſibility as the condition of happily terminating a war, the firſt meaſures of which he had himſelf ſuggeſted and approved. It exceeded, indeed, human power to extend the ſea to the boundary of the Holy Land; but by removing this boundary, it was poſſible to make the Holy Land communicate with the ſea. This might eaſily be accompliſhed, ſince it ſufficed for that purpoſe to conſecrate the intermediate ſpace with the ſame ceremonies which had formerly been employed in dedicating the Delphian territory [25].

and put in execution.

The opinion of Solon, propoſed with much ſolemn gravity, was honoured with the unanimous approbation of his aſſociates. Every one now wondered that he himſelf ſhould not have thought of an expedient which ſeemed ſo natural and ſo obvious. Preparations were immediately made for carrying it into execution, and the property of the Cirrhean plain was ſurrendered to the god with the moſt pompous formality; the Amphictyons, either not conſidering that they beſtowed on Apollo what, as it was not their own, they had not a right to give away; or, if this idea occurred, eaſily perſuading themſelves that the piety of the application would atone for the defect of the title.

25 Plutarch. in Solon. Pauſan. in Phoc.

When

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When the ſenators had performed the conſecration, the ſoldiers aſſailed the walls of Cirrha with the increaſing activity of re-animated hope. That place, as well as the dependent town of Anticirrha, ſituate on the oppoſite ſide of the creek, ſoon ſubmitted to their arms. The impious and devoted citizens were either put to the ſword, or dragged into captivity. The Criſſean community, formerly ſo rich and flouriſhing, was for ever extirpated [26]. Their lands were laid waſte, their cities demoliſhed, the proud monuments of their victories levelled with the ground; and the port of Cirrha, which was allowed to remain as a convenient harbour for Delphi, ſubſiſted as the only veſtige of their ancient grandeur. The territory, as it had been condemned by the divine will to perpetual ſterility, long continued uncultivated; for the Delphians were not obliged to labour the ground in order to acquire the neceſſaries, the accommodations, and even the higheſt luxuries of life. The ſuperſtition of the age furniſhed an abundant reſource to ſupply their wants; the granaries of Apollo filled ſpontaneouſly; and, to uſe the figurative ſtyle of an ancient author, the land, unploughed and unſown by the induſtry of man, flouriſhed in the richeſt luxuriance under the culture of the god [27].

Cirrha taken, and conſequences of the war.

The ſucceſsful event of a war begun, carried on, and concluded under the reſpectable ſanction

The happy iſſue of the ſacred war celebrated by the Pythian games.

[26] Æſchin. in Cteſiphont.

[27] Εφυετο τα παντα υπο γεωργω των θεω. LUCIAN. Phalar. ii.

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Olymp. xlvii. 2. A.C. 590.

of the Amphictyonic council, was celebrated with all the pomp and feſtivity congenial to the Grecian character. According to an ancient and ſacred inſtitution, the ſeveral republics were accuſtomed, by public ſhews, to commemorate their reſpective victories. When different communities had employed their joint efforts in the ſame glorious enterpriſe, the grateful triumph was exhibited with a proportional increaſe of magnificence; but the fortunate exploits of gods and heroes, which had extenſively benefited the whole Grecian name, were diſtinguiſhed by ſuch peculiar and tranſcendent honours as eclipſed the ſplendour of all other ſolemnities. While each republic paid the tribute of provincial feſtivals to the memory of its particular benefactors, the whole nation were concerned in acknowledging the bountiful goodneſs of Jupiter, the protecting aid of Neptune, the unerring wiſdom of Apollo, and the unrivalled labours of Hercules. Hence the Olympian, Iſthmian, Pythian, and Nemean games, which, though alike founded on the ſame principle of pious gratitude, were, from their firſt eſtabliſhment, diſtinguiſhed by different ceremonies, and reſpectively conſecrated to ſeparate divinities.

The Amphictyons were principally indebted to the prudent admonitions of Apollo for the fortunate iſſue of a war undertaken by his authority; it therefore became them, while they rejoiced in the happy ſucceſs of their arms, to offer reſpectful thanks to the god. Theſe objects might eaſily be conjoined in the pleaſing texture of ancient ſuperſtition,

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ſition, ſince the celebration of the Pythian games, which had been interrupted by a long train of wars and calamities, would form an entertainment not leſs agreeable to the ſuppoſed dictates of piety, than adapted to the natural demands of pleaſure.

This feſtival diſtinguiſhed from the preceding by two circumſtances.

The feſtival re-eſtabliſhed on this memorable occaſion in honour of Apollo, is mentioned by ancient hiſtorians, on account of two remarkable circumſtances by which it was diſtinguiſhed. Inſtead of the ſcanty rewards uſually diſtributed among the gymnaſtic combatans at other public ſolemnities, the Amphictyons beſtowed on the victors the moſt precious ſpoils of the cities Criſſa and Cirrha. The exhibitions of poetry and muſic had hitherto been united in all the Grecian feſtivals, and the laurel crown had been adjudged to the poet-muſician, who enlivened the compoſition of his genius by the ſound of his lyre. The Amphictyons for the firſt time ſeparated the kindred arts; propoſed prizes of inſtrumental muſic unaccompanied with poetry, and thus afforded an opportunity to the candidates for fame to diſplay their ſuperior merit in their reſpective profeſſions.

Hiſtory of the ſacred games.

Theſe are the only particulars concerning the re-eſtabliſhment of the Pythian games which ſeemed worthy the obſervation of Grecian authors, whoſe works were addreſſed to men who knew by experience and obſervation the nature and tendency of their domeſtic inſtitutions. But a more copious explanation is required, to ſatisfy the curioſity of the modern reader. The ſacred games of Greece cannot be illuſtrated by a compariſon with any

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thing ſimilar in the preſent age; they were intimately connected with the whole ſyſtem of ancient polity, whether civil or religious; they were attended with very extraordinary effects, both of a natural and moral kind; and on all theſe accounts they merit particular attention in a work which profeſſes to unite the hiſtory of arts to that of arms, and to contemplate the varying picture of human manners, as well as the tranſient revolutions of war and empire.

The Stadium, and gymnaſtic exerciſes.

In their moſt perfect form the ſacred games conſiſted in the exhibitions of the Stadium and Hippodrome, accompanied by the more refined entertainments of muſic and poetry. The Olympic Stadium took its name from the meaſure of length moſt commonly employed by the Greeks, conſiſting of the eighth part of a Grecian mile, or ſix hundred and thirty Engliſh feet. The Stadium, ſtill remaining at Athens, has been accurately meaſured by our travellers, and is an hundred and twenty-five geometrical paces in length, and twenty-ſeven in breadth: it forms a long and lofty terrace on the banks of the Ilyſſus, and its ſides were anciently built of white marble. That of Olympia was probably of the ſame dimenſions, but far leſs magnificent, being entirely compoſed of earth. The one extremity contained an elevated throne, appropriated for the judges of the games, and a marble altar, on which the prieſteſs of Ceres, and o[illegible] privileged virgins, ſat to behold a ſolemnity from which the reſt of their ſex were rigorouſly excluded. At the other extremity was

was the tomb of Endymion, the favourite of chaſte Diana. The Stadium was divided by pillars into two courſes. The five gymnaſtic exerciſes, ſo much celebrated by all the writers of antiquity, and ſo accurately deſcribed by Homer, Pindar, Sophocles, and Pauſanias, began with the foot race, which is ſuppoſed to have been the moſt ancient, and which always retained the prerogative of diſtinguiſhing the Olympiads by the name of the victorious racer. The exerciſe at firſt conſiſted in running naked from the one end of the Stadium to the other. The courſe was afterwards doubled, and at length the competitors were required to paſs the goal three, ſix, and even twelve times, before they could be entitled to the prize. Motives of utility introduced the race of men loaded with heavy armour, which rendered this exerciſe a conteſt of ſtrength as well as of ſwiftneſs. 2. The ſecond trial of agility conſiſted in leaping, the competitors endeavouring to ſurpaſs each other in the length, without regard to the height of their leap. They carried in their hands weights of lead, through the perforations of which their fingers paſſed as through the handle of a ſhield, and by theſe they poized, and impelled forwards, their bodies. The perfection attained in this exerciſe muſt have far exceeded the experience of modern times, if we can believe that Phaulus of Crotona[28] leaped fifty-two feet. 3. The wreſtling of the ancients required equal ſtrength

[28] Pauſanias, p. 624.

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and agility. It was chiefly remarkable on account of the oil and ſand with which they rubbed their bodies, in order to ſupple their joints, to prevent exceſſive perſpiration, and to elude the graſp of their antagoniſts. The wreſtlers were matched by lot, and the prize was adjudged to him who had thrice thrown his adverſary on the ground. 4. The two following exerciſes tried chiefly the ſtrength of the arms. The firſt conſiſted in throwing a huge maſs of poliſhed iron, braſs, or ſtone, of a circular form, reſembling a ſhield, but without handle or thong. It was called the diſk, and thrown under the hand as the quoit is in England. The object of the competitors was to ſurpaſs each other in the length of the caſt. Akin to this was the art of darting the javelin, which, as that weapon was directed at a mark, required ſteadineſs of eye as well as dexterity of hand. 5. The laſt of the gymnaſtic exerciſes both in order and in eſteem, was that of boxing. It was ſometimes performed by the naked fiſt, and ſometimes with the formidable cœſtus, compoſed of raw hides lined with metal. Before the victory could be decided, it was neceſſary, from the nature of that exerciſe, that one of the combatants ſhould acknowledge his defeat; a condition which ſeemed ſo inconſiſtent with the obſtinacy of Grecian valour, that few ventured to contend in this dangerous amuſement. The laws of Sparta abſolutely prohibited her citizens from ever engaging in it, becauſe a Spartan was taught to diſdain ſaving his life by yielding to an opponent. Another reaſon, no leſs remarkable, tended ſtill

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ſtill more to degrade the exerciſe of boxing. Beſides ſtrength and agility, the ſucceſs of the boxer, it was thought, depended on a certain ponderous fleſhineſs of arm, which unfitted him to engage in any other conteſt. The regimen required for keeping up his corpulency, ſo neceſſary for the defence of his bones againſt the weight of blows, was altogether incompatible with the life of a ſoldier; a life of hardſhip and inequality, and continually expoſed to the want of reſt, of proviſions, and of ſleep.

Theſe were the five gymnaſtic exerciſes in which the Grecian youth were trained with ſo much care, and to which they applied with ſo much emulation. But beſides theſe ſimple ſports, there were two others formed of their various combination; the Pancratium, which conſiſted of wreſtling and boxing; and the Pentathon, in which all the five were united; and to excel in ſuch complicated exerciſes required an education and way of living not neceſſary to be obſerved by thoſe who contended in the ſimple feats of ſtrength and agility, and which was ſcarcely compatible with the ſtudy of any other than the athletic profeſſion.

The Hippodrome, or ground allotted for the horſe races, was twice as long as the Stadium[29], and ſufficiently ſpacious to allow forty chariots to drive abreaſt[30]. The chariot race was inſtituted at Olympia about an hundred years after the regular celebration of the [illegible] and that of riding

The Hippodrome and Equeſtrian exerciſes.

[29] Heſychius.

[30] Pauſan. l. vi. p. 382, & 390.

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horſes twenty years later. Theſe warlike ſports followed the ſame progreſs with the military art, of which they were the image, and in which the uſe of chariots long preceded that of cavalry. The cars of the Greeks, as evidently appears from their medals, were low, open behind, furniſhed with only two wheels, and unprovided with any ſeat for the driver, who ſtood with much difficulty in the body of his vehicle, while he commanded four horſes, which were not paired but formed on one line. Notwithſtanding this inconvenient poſture, they performed ſix and ſometimes twelve rounds of the Hippodrome, amounting to ſix Grecian miles of eight hundred paces each, of which an Engliſh mile contains one thouſand five hundred and fifty. The Grecian heroes excelled, during the heroic ages, in this dangerous exerciſe; but in later times the owners of the horſes were allowed to employ a charioteer, which enlarged the ſphere of candidates for the Olympic prize, by admitting many foreign princes, as well as the wealthy ladies of Macedon and Laconia, who could not appear in perſon at this important ſolemnity. Though riding horſes were not ſo early employed as chariots, either at the games, or in war, yet we cannot believe, with a fanciful writer [31], that this circumſtance ſhould have been occaſioned by the timidity of the Greeks to mount on horſeback; for we learn from Homer, that, even in the moſt ancient times, they were acquainted with all the feats of dexterity

[31] The Chevalier Folard.

practiſed by our moſt accompliſhed jockies[32]. But before the Perſian war, the poverty of the Greeks prevented them from importing foreign horſes, and their domeſtic breed was naturally of an inferior kind to thoſe of Aſia and Africa. The Spartans firſt employed them in battle during their wars with the Meſſenians. In the Perſian expedition, Xerxes tried the mettle of the Perſian, againſt the Theſſalian horſes, and the former carried off the palm in every conteſt. For a conſiderable time after the ſhameful retreat of that haughty monarch, the Athenians, who then formed the moſt powerful community of Greece, had a ſquadron of only three hundred horſemen: and it was not till that ambitious republic had begun to extend her dominion over the inferior ſtates, that ſhe ſeriouſly applied to the improvement of her cavalry. CHAP. V.

The muſical entertainments.

While the Greeks thus acquired the accompliſhments of the body, and diſplayed at Olympia their ſkill in horſemanſhip, and their vigour in the gymnaſtic exerciſes, the more refined entertainments of the fancy were not neglected; and the agreeable productions of muſic and poetry added luſtre and elegance to every Grecian ſolemnity. It is well obſerved by the only ancient writer to whom we are indebted for an hiſtorical account of Grecian muſic, that the arts of peace, as they are more agreeable and more uſeful than thoſe of war, demand, in a ſuperior degree, the

[32] Iliad xv. ver. 679.

regard

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regard of the hiſtorian. If this had been the general opinion of authors, the ſtudy of their works would be equally entertaining and inſtructive. The writer of hiſtory would explain the various diſcoveries which happily tend to improve and to embelliſh ſocial life; by introducing ſcenes of gaiety and pleaſure, he would diverſify the eternal theme of human miſery; and while he expatiated on the crimes and calamities of men, he would not neglect to point out the means beſt adapted to prevent the perpetration of the one, and to ſooth the ſuffering of the other. But the Greek hiſtorians have not attempted to afford us this important information; they enlarge copiouſly on ſuch topics as are adapted to the uſe of their countrymen; and they preſerve the moſt mortifying ſilence concerning thoſe ſubjects which deſervedly excite the curioſity of later ages. Of all the arts cultivated by the ingenuity of their contemporaries, muſic was the moſt connected with religion, government, and manners; and the effects aſcribed to Grecian muſic are numbered among the moſt ſingular as well as the moſt authentic of all recorded events [33]; yet as to the nature, the origin, the progreſs, the perfection, in one word, the hiſtory of this art, we can know little more than what we learn from

33 The continual complaints of Plato and Ariſtotle prove that the muſic of their age had greatly degenerated from its ancient dignity. It afterwards continued, like all the other arts, gradually to decline; yet, in the ſecond century before Chriſt, the grave, judicious, and well-informed Polybius aſcribes the moſt extraordinary effects to the Grecian muſic. Polybius, l. iv. c. xx. & ſeq.

the

the muſical treatiſe of Plutarch, a work extremely ſhort and imperfect, obſcure throughout, and in many parts unintelligible [34]. CHAP. V.

Why introduced at the public games.

Without much hiſtorical information, however, we may venture to explain the introduction of muſical entertainments at the four public ſolemnities. Theſe grand ſpectacles were deſtined to exhibit an embelliſhed repreſentation of the ordinary tranſactions of real life, and while the gymnaſtic and equeſtrian exerciſes repreſented the image of war, the moſt ſerious occupation of the Greeks, muſic recalled the memory of religion and love, their moſt agreeable amuſements. Beſides this, as muſic in thoſe early times was cloſely connected with poetry [35], and as the uſe of compoſition in proſe was not known in Greece till the time of Pherecydes of Syros, and Cadmus of Miletus, who flouriſhed only five hundred and forty-four years before Chriſt [36], the name of muſic naturally comprehended all the learning of the age; and to obtain the prize in the muſical conteſts, was equivalent to the glory of being declared ſuperior to the reſt of mankind in mental abilities and endowments.

Extent of Grecian muſic.

34 M. Burette, a French phyſician, has tranſlated this treatiſe, in the tenth volume of the Memoirs of the Academy, &c. He finds fewer difficulties in it, than preſent themſelves to men far better acquainted with the theory and practice of this elegant art. See Burney on Muſic, vol. i. p. 36.

35 The ſame words ſignified a ſong and a poem, a muſician and poet; ωδαι, ασματα; ωδοι, ωδικοι αοιδοι. Heſych.

36 Strabo, l. i.

Theſe

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Purpoſes to which it was applied.

Theſe abilities and endowments were anciently regarded in proportion to their utility. Before the practice of writing was introduced, the hiſtory of paſt events could be preſerved only by tradition; and tradition was rendered more ſure and permanent, by being committed to the ſafe protection of harmonious numbers[37]. The cuſtomary offices of religion were celebrated in poetical compoſition, and the various hymns appropriated to the worſhip of particular divinities, were retained by the faithful memory of their reſpective votaries. The tuneful tribe, who were thus employed to extol the bounty of the gods, to exalt the glory of heroes, and to record and perpetuate the accumulated wiſdom of antiquity, condeſcended alſo to regulate the duties, and to improve the pleaſures, of private life. The ſame bards who taught the men to be brave, exhorted the women to be chaſte[38]. Poetry, together with the ſiſter arts of muſic and dancing, are elegantly called by Homer the chief ornaments of the feaſt. The poet muſician quelled ſeditions in ſtates[39], and maintained the domeſtic quiet of families; while he publiſhed laws of the moſt extenſive influence over the whole community, he diſdained not to animate the humble but neceſſary labours of the mechanic; every profeſſion in ſociety, even the meaneſt and

37 Ὡς δὲ εἰπειν ὁ πεζος λογος κατασκευασμενος μιμημα τῆ ποιητικῆ ἐστι· πρωτιστα γαρ ἡ ποιητικη κατασκευα[illegible] εἰς το μεσον.

Strabo, l. i.

38 Of this we have an example in Homer's Demodicus.

39 See what is ſaid above of Tyrtæus, p. 188.

moſt

moſt vulgar, was encouraged and adorned by its particular ſong[40]; and the moſt ordinary tranſactions of common life, however trivial and low and unintereſting in themſelves, were heightened and ennobled by the combined charms of muſic and poetry.

The degree of perfection in which theſe arts are found in any country, depends on the language and character of the people by whom they are cultivated. Of this there is abundant proof in the hiſtory of ancient, as well as in that of modern nations. The melancholy, ſtern[41], atrocious, and unrelenting temper of the Egyptians (the ſuppoſed inſtructors of Greece) diſqualified that nation either for improving or for reliſhing the beauties of harmony. The harſh diſſonance of the eaſtern languages, their deficiency in vowels, and the inflexible thickneſs of their ſounds, rendered them but little ſuſceptible of muſical compoſition. The

40 She Athenæus paſſim, and the diſcourſes on the Greek ſongs, in the 3d volume of the excellent ſelection of the Memoirs of the Academy.

41 The nature of the government furniſhes another reaſon for the imperfection of Egyptian muſic. Homer characteriſes Egypt by the epithet πικρος, bitter, to denote the rigid ſeverity of the laws. Among that grave and formal people, the hours of amuſement, as well as of buſineſs, were preſcribed by law. There was a particular time of the day, not only for attending the courts of juſtice, but for walking, bathing, and even for performing the duties of matrimony. Diodor. Siculus. Poetry, muſic, ſculpture, and all other arts, were regulated by expreſs ſtatute; and, if we may believe Plato, continued invariable for many thouſand years. Plato de Legibus. The auſterity and reſtraints of deſpotiſm are inconſiſtent with that flowing freedom of genius neceſſary to the perfection of poetry.

muſic

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muſic of the Egyptians and Orientals therefore depended rather on the quantity than the quality of ſound; and the principal object of their art was rather to rouſe the attention by noiſe, than to charm the ſoul by melody.

Its origin.

The language and manners of the Greeks were of a different and a far ſuperior kind to thoſe of the neighbouring nations. Hence may be deduced the origin and peculiar excellence of their muſic, which, though injudiciouſly [42] aſcribed to the invention of Thracians, Myſians, and other barbarous ſtrangers, muſt have been the natural production of Grecian genius, ſince the three moſt ancient modes of muſic were the Dorian, Ionian, and Eolian, correſponding with the three great diviſions of the Hellenic race, and the three principal diſtinctions of the Hellenic tongue [43].

Cauſes of the perfection of the Grecian language and muſic.

The perfection of language, as well as of muſic, depends on the melody of its ſounds; their meaſure or rhythm; their variety; and their ſuitableneſs to the ſubject which they are meant to deſcribe or to expreſs. The circumſtances of the Greeks in the earlieſt periods of their ſociety [44] rendered them peculiarly attentive to all theſe objects. They lived continually in crowds; all matters of conſequence were decided by the voice of the aſſembly;

42 While detraction referred the diſcovery of muſic to ſtrangers, vanity referred it to the gods; and both accounts ſerve to prove the great antiquity of the art. Plut. de Muſic.

43 We owe the knowledge of this important circumſtance to Heraclides of Pontus, the contemporary and ſcholar of Plato. His words are cited by Athenæus, l. xiv.

44 See above, chap. ii.

and,

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and, next to the force of his arm, every warrior felt himſelf indebted to the perſuaſive accents of his tongue. The perpetual neceſſity of employing the power of eloquence during the infancy of their political ſtate, made them retain the original tones and cadences by which men, as yet unpractiſed in the uſe of arbitrary ſigns, had made known their affections and their wants. Theſe tones and cadences, imitating the language of action (the firſt and moſt natural language of ſavages), poſſeſſed a degree of energy and of warmth which can never be attained by the mere artifice of articulate ſounds [45]. By uniting them to theſe ſounds, the Greeks gave all the force of a natural, to an arbitrary ſign. Muſic and action were incorporated in the ſubſtance of their ſpeech; and the deſcriptive power of words was extended to all thoſe objects which can be characteriſed by ſound and motion, or which the various modifications of theſe qualities can ſuggeſt to the mind of man.

A language thus founded on the broad baſis of nature, contained within itſelf the fruitful ſeeds of the imitative arts, and the rich materials of all that is *beautiful* and *grand* in literary compoſition [46]. It is

45 See an excellent diſcourſe of the Abbé Arnaut, on the Greek accents, in the 3d volume of the Choix de Memoirs.

46 Theſe words very inadequately expreſs the ἡδυς and the καλος of Dionyſius, de Struct. Orat. The ingenious and philoſophical critic ranges under two [illegible] qualities of ſtyle fitted to pleaſe the ear and the imagination. Theſe are the *ſweet*, and the *fair*. Under the firſt are contained ſmoothneſs, beauty, grace, perſuaſion, &c. Under the ſecond, dignity, weight, magnificence, and force. The two

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is a ſubject of equal curioſity and importance, to examine how theſe materials were wrought up, and how theſe ſeeds were unfolded. In attempting, with much diffidence, to give ſome account of this delicate and refined operation, we ſhall obſerve the diviſion above mentioned, and conſider the *melody*, *meaſure*, *variety*, and *expreſſion* of the Grecian poetry and muſic; arts once deemed ſo intimately connected, that their disjunction at the Pythian games, of which we have already taken notice, was emphatically compared by ancient writers to the ſeparation of the ſoul and body.

Melody of language.

The pleaſure ariſing from the agreeable ſucceſſion of ſounds depends either on the combination of letters, or on that of muſical tones[47]. The attention which the Greeks paid to the former, is evident from the whole ſtructure of their language. Wherever propriety permits[48], they always employ full, open, and[49] *magnificent* ſounds; innumerable rules of flexion and derivation are founded merely on the pleaſure of the ear; and the great principle of the fine arts, to move and affect, without fatiguing the ſenſes, cannot be better illuſtrated

two kinds of ſtyle have a ſimilar relation to each other, which the pleaſures of the taſte, expreſſed by the word ἡδυς, have to thoſe of the eye, expreſſed by καλος.

47 Dionyſius comprehends both under the word μελος, melody.

48 The το πρεπον, Dionyſius obſerves, may ſometimes require harſh, cloſe, and diſagreeable ſounds.

49 The μεγαλοπρεπεις of Dionyſius.

than

than by the inimitable compoſition [50] of elements which characteriſes the general texture of the Grecian tongue. Whether the ancient poets and orators diſcovered this compoſition by inveſtigation, or only preferred it from taſte, is a queſtion that may be eaſily anſwered, if we reflect, that ſuch a diſcovery by inveſtigation ſuppoſes an acquaintance with the moſt abſtruſe principles of philoſophy, principles altogether unknown in that early age, during which the compoſition of elemental ſounds attained its higheſt beauty and perfection. We may therefore without temerity conclude, that ſentiment firſt directed to the practice of thoſe rules which reaſon afterwards approved; and that this progreſs equally obtained in the articulation of voice, and the intonation of ſound. CHAP. V.

The *latter*, the agreeable compoſition of which is properly ſtyled melody, was improved to ſuch an extraordinary degree about the time of Homer, as rendered the productions of Olympus, and other ancient poet-muſicians, the admiration of all ſucceeding ages. Unfortunately for the hiſtory of the arts, we have not any ſuch analyſis of the muſic of Olympus, as Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus has left us of the poetry of Homer. We are informed, however, that the ancient melody was not Melody of Muſic.

[50] As all languages are relative to the organs of ſpeech, they may all be analized into about twenty-four letters, or elemental ſounds, the combination of which forms the wonderful variety of language; a variety reſulting from the reſpective characters and circumſtances of different nations.

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only divided, like the modern, by tones and ſemitones, but alſo diſtinguiſhed by the diæſis, or quarter-tone; an interval of which modern muſicians rarely make uſe. The genus of muſic, regulated by this interval, a genus to which the moſt powerful effects are aſcribed by ancient writers, was known by the name of the enharmonic; the genus, proceeding by ſemitones, was called the chromatic; and the diatonic, which denotes a progreſſion by tones and ſemitones, expreſſed a muſical ſcale nearly reſembling that of the modern nations of Europe[51].

The different genera.

Theſe obſervations will give the reader an idea of the intervals in the different *genera*, which is all that we can learn on this ſubject from the learned collection of Meibomius. In none of the muſical treatiſes in that collection do we find any ſpecimen of ancient melody; nor are we enabled, by any circumſtance mentioned in them, to aſcertain the qualities which formed its principal merit. The invention of the enharmonic genus is aſcribed by Plutarch to Olympus, who happening to ſkip certain intervals in the diatonic ſcale, obſerved the beauty of the effect, and the peculiar force and character which the regular omiſſion of the ſame intervals beſtowed on the melody. Upon this obſervation, he is ſaid to have founded a new

Peculiar effect of the enharmonic genus explained.

[51] It is ſufficient to explain the things ſignified by the enharmonic and diatonic. When, or why, theſe names were beſtowed on the two kinds of muſic which they reſpectively denote, is diſputed by philologiſts; and I have not met with any thing on the ſubject that ſeemed worthy of being tranſcribed.

genus

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genius of muſic remarkable for ſimplicity, gravity, and grandeur. Theſe qualities might, doubtleſs, be produced by the happy diſcovery, ſeconded by the lofty genius of Olympus; and to them, perhaps, we may refer the enthuſiaſm and ſublimity by which his compoſitions were diſtinguiſhed. The employing of the greater intervals ſupported the dignity and character, while the uſe of the dieſis chiefly contributed to the refinement and delicacy, of Grecian muſic. The bold ſeparation of notes expreſſed the firmer feelings, and deſcribed the ſtronger emotions of the ſoul; while the more inſenſible diſtinctions of ſound painted the innumerable ſhades and faint fluctuations of paſſion; as when the voice gradually aſcended through the ſmalleſt perceptible diviſions, it would admirably expreſs the progreſs of a reſpectful but ardent affection, unable to hide, yet afraid to reveal its force, and ſtriving by repeated efforts to overcome its natural timidity.

Connection between the melody of language and muſic.

But by whatever conjectures we may explain the powers of ancient enharmonic, it appears from the univerſal conſent of Greek writers, that the melody of muſic and of language differed only in degree, not in kind. The variations of *accent*, for *that* is the proper word to expreſs the melody of language, ſeldom exceeded, in common diſcourſe, the difference of three notes and a half; which makes Dionyſius obſerve, that it never exceeds the compaſs of one interval, the diapenté, or fifth. He pretends not, however, that in rhetorical declamation, the flexions of the voice

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were ſo narrowly circumſcribed; and it is probable that in poetry, their range was always more extenſive than in the moſt animated proſe. When the poet therefore compoſed his verſe, he was obliged to pay an equal attention to accent and to quantity: the acuteneſs and gravity of ſounds, as well as the length and ſhortneſs of ſyllables, contributed to the effect of his art; and each particular word having not only its determined duration, but its appropriated tones, obtained that place in the verſe which was felt to be moſt agreeable to the ear, and beſt adapted to the ſubject. The poet therefore naturally performed the office of the muſician, and clothed his own thoughts and ſentiments with that combination of ſounds, which rendered them moſt beautiful and expreſſive.

Of quantity and rhythm.

As accent regulated the melody, quantity regulated the rhythm of ancient muſic. The moſt melodious ſucceſſion of tones, however flattering to the ear, muſt ſoon become tireſome and diſguſting, when continued without interruption or pauſe, and undiſtinguiſhed by ſuch proportions of duration, as are readily ſeized and meaſured by the ſenſes. This truth the Greeks illuſtrated by a compariſon. The moſt brilliant compoſition of colours is nothing better, they obſerved, than a gaudy ſhow, dazzling the ſight for a moment, but paſſing afterwards diſregarded and unobſerved. But to this ſhowy colouring let the painter add the ſolid beauties of deſign, and he will convert an empty amuſement of the eye, into an elegant entertainment of the fancy. What deſign is to colouring, meaſure

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meaſure is to melody. It is meaſure that animates the ſong; and which, combined with the inimitable charms of Grecian verſe, produced thoſe extraordinary effects, which the ignorance and credulity of early ages weakly deemed miraculous. On meaſure principally depended the different *modes* of muſic, by which the moſt oppoſite paſſions were alternately excited in the mind; and courage, pride, timidity, love, anger, reſentment, ſucceſſively diffuſed through a numerous aſſembly, at the will of a ſkilful compoſer. The difference of modes, indeed, aroſe alſo, in ſome meaſure, from the difference of key; and the ſame ſucceſſion of ſounds, pronounced with various degrees of acuteneſs or gravity, may doubtleſs produce effects more or leſs powerful: but diſſimilar effects it never can produce; ſo that the grandeur of the Doric, the poliſhed elegance of the Ionic, the ſoothing ſweetneſs of the Eolic mode[52], muſt have reſulted from the rhythm or meaſure, which governing the movement of the verſe, thereby determined its expreſſion.

Of propriety and expreſſion.

Beſides theſe three modes, formerly mentioned as the original invention of Greece, the natives of that country gradually adopted ſeveral others that had been diſcovered by the neighbouring nations; particularly the Phrygian, conſecrated to religious ceremonies, and the Lydian, appropriated to the expreſſion of complaint or ſorrow. The variety,

[52] Lucian Harmon. ſub initio, & Heraclid. apud Athenæum, l. xiv.

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Of the variety and perfection of Grecian muſic.

indeed, at length became greater than can be eaſily conceived by ſuch as are unacquainted with the mechaniſm of ancient languages. Every ſpecies of verſe (and of verſe there were above an hundred different kinds) occaſioned a change of muſical meaſure, and introduced what, in muſical language, may be called a different time. Theſe meaſures were only to be employed agreeably to the rules of propriety and decorum which had been diſcovered in thoſe great principles of nature to which all rules of art muſt ultimately be referred. A ſlow ſucceſſion of lengthened tones expreſſed moderation and firmneſs; a rapid inequality of verſe betrayed diſorderly and ignoble paſſions; the mind was tranſported by ſudden tranſitions, and roufed by impetuous reiterations of ſound; a gradual aſcent of notes accorded with all thoſe affections which warm and expand the heart; and the contrary movement naturally coincided with ſuch ſentiments as depreſs the ſpirits, and extinguiſh the generous ardour of the ſoul. Having fixed, with the moſt accurate preciſion, the wide variety of *modes* and *genera*, the Greeks ſeldom confounded them in the ſame piece, and never applied them to any ſubject which they had not been originally deſtined to expreſs. The natural perceptions of taſte were gradually ſtrengthened by habit; the principles of muſic were clearly aſcertained, and univerſally underſtood; and poſſeſſing the warmth and energy of the language of nature, they acquired the perſpicuity and extent of the language of convention. This is juſtly deemed the

the height of muſical perfection[53]; and to this height the Greeks had attained, in the beginning of the ſixth century before Chriſt. CHAP. V.

53 The queſtion, whether the Greeks knew muſic in parts, has been carefully examined by Mr. Burette (Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions); by Rouſſeau (Dictionaire de Muſique); and by Dr. Burney (Hiſtory of Muſic, vol. i. p. 146, & ſeq.). Theſe writers, who are ſo well entitled to decide on this ſubject, pronounce the Greeks to have been unacquainted with counterpoint. But that their ignorance in this reſpect did not detract from the perfection, or diminiſh the effects of their muſic, may be credited on the unſuſpicious teſtimony of an ingenious Italian. "Il contrapunto, eſſendo "compoſito di varie parti, l'una acuta, l'altera grave, queſta di "andamento preſto, quella di tardo, que hanno a trovarſi inſieme "& ferir l'orecchie ad un tempo, come potrebbe egli muovere meli' "animo noſtro, una tal determinata paſſione, la quale, di ſua na- "tura, rechiede un determinato moto, et un determinato tuono?" Algorotti, Saggio ſopra l'Opera in Muſica.

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The Grecian Bards.—Heroic Poetry.—Change of Manners.—Iambic or Satire.—Elegy.—Tyrtæus, Callinus, Mimnermus.—Life of Archilochus.—Terpander.—Lyric Poetry.—The Nine Lyric Poets.—Sappho, Alcæus, Anacreon, Myrtis, Corinna, Pindar.—Effects of the Sacred Games.—Strength.—Courage.—Contempt of Prejudices.—Taſte.—Moral Principle.—Intellectual Powers.—Genius.

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Early perfection of the Grecian muſic and poetry.

POETRY has deſcribed the wonderful effects of Grecian muſic; and the inimitable excellence of ancient poets can alone render the deſcription credible. Yet the early perfection of theſe elegant arts, aſſerted by the graveſt writers of antiquity, ſeems extremely inconſiſtent with the received doctrines concerning the progreſs of civil ſociety. Both in the ancient and modern world, the great ſyſtem of practical knowledge, ſubſervient to the uſeful purpoſes of human life, appears to have been ſlowly raiſed, and gradually extended, by ſucceſſive trials, and reiterated efforts. Among ſavages, ſcarcely any diſtinction of profeſſions takes place; the activity of each individual ſupplies his own wants. During the intermediate ſtages of ſociety, men are ſtill condemned to a wide variety of occupations; and their attention being diſtracted

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diſtracted by a multiplicity of purſuits, it is impoſſible that, in any one art, they ſhould reach proficiency, or even aſpire to excellence. But, contrary to this obſervation, the Grecian muſic and poetry are repreſented as moſt perfect in their united ſtate; the immortal fathers of verſe excelled alike, it is ſaid, in all the various kinds of poetical compoſition [1]; and their inimitable productions were ſo far from advancing, by a gradual progreſs, to perfection, that the moſt ancient are, by univerſal conſent, entitled to a juſt preference [2].

The hiſtory of theſe admired authors is, unfortunately, as uncertain, as their merit was illuſtrious. The Greeks poſſeſſing much traditionary and little recorded information concerning the antiquities of their country, the great inventors of arts, and generous benefactors of ſociety, have been deprived of their merited fame and well-earned honours. Their names indeed, like firm rocks reſiſting the aſſaults of the ocean, bid defiance to the depredations of time; but of Linus, Orpheus, Muſæus, and Melampus, little elſe than the names remain; and to determine the time in which they

[1] We are told by Ariſtotle, in the 4th chapter of his Poetics, that Homer wrote an iambic poem, intitled Margites, bearing the ſame relation to comedy, and ſatire, that the Iliad bears to tragedy and panegyric. Notwithſtanding the expreſs teſtimony of the great critic, two very elegant ſcholars have ſaid, that the hexameter was the only kind of verſe known in the time of Homer; the Abbé Arnaut, in his excellent diſcourſe on the Greek accents, and Mr. Burette, in his Commentary on Plut. de Muſic.

[2] Græcorum antiquiſſima quæque ſcripta vel optima. Horat. Epiſt. l. ii. Ep. 1

flouriſhed,

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flouriſhed, was a matter of as much difficulty two thouſand years ago[3], as it remains in the preſent age.

Since even the chronology of the ancient bards is ſo extremely uncertain[4], it cannot be expected that we ſhould be able to give a circumſtantial account of their life and writings. Inſtead of conſidering minutely, therefore, the private hiſtory of

[3] Herodotus, who read his hiſtory at the Olympic games 444 years B. C. expreſſes himſelf as follows: "Homer and Heſiod lived "about four hundred years ago; not more; and theſe are the poets "who compoſed a Theogony for the Greeks; who aſſigned to the "gods their reſpective appellations and epithets; diſtinguiſhed their "ſeveral forms, and defined the arts in which they excelled, and "the honours to which they were entitled. As to the poets who "are ſuppoſed to have preceded them, I am opinion that they "flouriſhed in a later age." According to Herodotus, therefore, the age of Homer is fifty years later than it is placed by the marbles of Paros. But on this ſubject we have ſurer evidence than any monuments of marble, or even the teſtimony of Herodotus can afford. The circumſtantial minuteneſs, and infinite variety, which characteriſe the Iliad and Odyſſey, prove their inimitable author to have lived near the times which he deſcribes. He converſed in his youth with thoſe who had ſeen the heroes of the Trojan war; and, in the vigour of his age, beheld the grandchildren of Æneas, Ulyſſes, Achilles, and Agamemnon.

Νυν δε δη Αινειαο γενος Τρωεσσι ανασσει
Και παιδες παιδων τοι κεν μετοπισθε γενωνται. Iliad. xx. ver. 306.

The learned reader may conſult the note on the paſſage in Clerk's Homer, where Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus is quoted, to prove that the poet ſays nothing inconſiſtent with Æneas's voyage into Italy. It is to be obſerved, that the force of the criticiſm evaporates in Mr. Pope's tranſlation.

[4] The preceding note proves the ignorance of Herodotus, and his contemporaries, concerning the hiſtory of their ancient bards; ſince of theſe venerable fathers of the Grecian religion and policy, two are mentioned by Homer himſelf; Linus, in the deſcription of the ſhield of Achilles, Il. xviii.; Melampus, in the 11th book of the Odyſſey, ver. 15.

individuals,

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individuals, a task which suits neither the design of the present work, nor the incredulity of the present age, we shall endeavour to explain the general nature and tendency of their profession, as well as the circumstances which conspired to raise it to that rank and dignity which it long held in society. During the heroic ages, the Grecian poets had one uniform character; and if we may depend on the positive assertions of antiquity, the same individual was alike successful in the various branches of his divine art[5]. The earliest poets, therefore, may be represented in one picture, and delineated by the same strokes, until their profession came to be separated into different departments. We shall then distinguish the heroic, iambic, lyric, elegiac, and other kinds of poetical composition; offer some account of the improvers of each particular species; and examine such fragments of their works as deserve attention, not merely on account of their own intrinsic merit, but as genuine and authentic, and indeed the only genuine and authentic transcripts of the manners of that early age in which they were composed.

The Grecian bards.

In ancient Greece, the favourites of fortune were often the favourites of the muses. There remain not, indeed, the works of any Grecian king; but we are told by Homer, that Achilles sung to his lyre the glory of heroes; Amphion, to whose musical powers such wonderful[6] effects

5 There are not any two kinds of poetry more different than those ascribed to Homer by Aristotle, Poetic. chap. iv.

6 Movet Amphion lapides canendo. Hor.

are

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are aſcribed, reigned in Thebes; the poet Melampus obtained royal authority in Argos; and Chiron, the wiſe Centaur[7], though deſcended of the moſt illuſtrious anceſtors, and intitled to the firſt rank among the Theſſalian princes, preferred to the enjoyment of power, the cultivation of poetry, and retired, with his favourite muſes, to a ſolitary cavern at the foot of mount Pelion, which was ſoon rendered, by the fame of his abilities, the moſt celebrated ſchool of antiquity[8].

The muſical arts not only excited the emulation of princes, but raiſed ordinary men to the firſt ranks in ſociety. By excelling in ſuch accompliſhments, Anthes of Bœotia, Olen of Lycia, Olympus of Phrygia[9], obtained the higheſt preeminence. Nor was it during their lifetime only that they enjoyed the happy fruits of their elegant labours. They were regarded as peculiarly deſerving of a double immortality; living for ever in the memory of men, and being admitted, according to the belief of antiquity, to the moſt diſtinguiſhed honours in the celeſtial manſions[10]

7 Moſt of the heroes of the Trojan war were his diſciples. Xenoph. de Venat. ſub initio.

8 Xenoph. ibid.

9 Mr. Burette has collected the moſt intereſting particulars concerning theſe bards, in his Commentary on Plut. de Muſic.

10 Muſæum ante omnes. Virg. Æn. vi. It is not eaſy to diſcover the reaſon why Virgil, in his Elyſium, has placed Muſæus before all the reſt. This venerable bard, by ſome called the ſon, by others the diſciple of Orpheus, is univerſally allowed to have been a native of Attica. The admirer of Grecian eloquence (Orabant Cauſſas melius) intended, perhaps, to compliment the country of Muſæus.

It

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It has been already obſerved, that the texture of the Grecian tongue was ſingularly well adapted to the improvement of poetry; and this favourable circumſtance was admirably ſeconded by the political condition of the Greeks in the early periods of their ſociety. Religion then formed the ſole principle of government; and the belief of religion was chiefly ſupported by the Theogonies [11], while its ceremonies were principally adorned by the hymns of the bards. Theſe two kinds of poetry, doubtleſs the moſt ancient and the moſt venerable, formed the main pillars of the political edifice; and the eſſential parts of this edifice conſiſting in the praiſe of the gods, its brighteſt ornaments were compoſed of the glory of heroes. The hymns maintained the power of religion, the ſong animated to valour; and both powerfully affected that peculiar ſenſibility of temper, and that romantic turn of fancy, the prevailing characteriſtics of Greece during the heroic ages.

Their influence on ſociety.

Neither the Runers of the north, nor the Troubadours of Provence, nor the Bards of Germany, nor even the Druids of Gaul and Britain, poſſeſſed more diſtinguiſhed authority than the Aoidoi, or Rhapſodiſts, of the Greeks. The firſt requiſite of their profeſſion was, to know many ſoothing tales [12]; and it was the daily object of their art, to

[11] A Theogony is a poem explaining, not merely, as the name denotes, the generation, but alſo the hiſtory of the gods. Moſt of the ancient poets mentioned in the text wrote Theogonies. Diod. l. iii. Plut de Muſic.

[12] Πολλα θελκτηρια. HOMER.

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delight gods and men [13]. The piety of the prieſt, and the inſpiration of the prophet, were intimately connected with the enthuſiaſm of poetry; and poets, who had celebrated the glory of the paſt, were naturally employed to rear the hopes of the future generation [14]. It is probable, however, that the ancient bards had frequent avocations from their literary labours. The curioſity, natural to men of genius, would frequently tempt them to viſit diſtant countries. The admiration paid to their abilities could only be upheld by novelty. Both inclination and intereſt, therefore, would prompt them to ſail to foreign lands, to examine their civil and religious inſtitutions, and to converſe with their prieſts and poets, from whom they might derive ſuch information as would enable them, on their return home, to ſurpriſe, entertain, and inſtruct their fellow-citizens.

Their travels.

Of all nations, the Greeks enjoyed moſt advantages for travelling; and of all Grecian profeſſions, that of the bard. The general diffuſion of their national language and colonies, as well as the ſacred character with which they were inveſted, entitled this venerable claſs of men to expect a ſecure retreat among the moſt inhoſpitable Barbarians. Whatever country they viſited, the ele-

[13] Θεοισι και ανθρωποισι αειδειν. HOMER.

[14] In early ages, the education of youth was entruſted only to the firſt ranks in ſociety. This profeſſion was practiſed in Greece by Homer, as we learn from his life, falſely aſcribed to Herodotus, yet certainly very ancient. In Gaul it belonged to the Druids. Vid. Cæſar de Bello Gallico, l. vi.

gant

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gant entertainment derived from their art procured them a welcome reception at religious feſtivals, and all public ſolemnities. Amidſt the moſt dreadful calamities which afflict mankind, the bards alone were exempted from the common danger. They could behold, in ſafety, the tumult of the battle; they could witneſs, undiſturbed, the horror of a city taken by ſtorm; calm and ſerene themſelves, they might contemplate the furious conflicts, and wild agitations, of the paſſions. It belonged to them only, and to the ſacred character of the herald, to obſerve and examine, without perſonal danger, the natural expreſſions of fear, rage, or deſpair, in the countenances and geſtures of the vanquiſhed, as well as the inſolent triumph of ſucceſs, the fury of reſentment, the avidity of gain, and the thirſt of blood, in the wild aſpect and mad demeanour of the victors. Having conſidered at full leiſure the moſt ſtriking peculiarities of thoſe agitated and diſtreſsful ſcenes, the poet might retire to his cavern, or grotto, and there delineate, in ſecure tranquillity, ſuch a warm and expreſſive picture of the manners and misfortunes of men, as ſhould aſtoniſh his contemporaries, and excite the ſympathetic terror and pity of the moſt diſtant poſterity.

The reſpect belonging to their character,

favourable to their poetical ſtudies.

If the Grecian bards were fortunate in obſerving ſuch events of their own age as beſt admitted the ornaments of poetical imitation, they were ſtill more fortunate in living at a period which afforded a wonderful variety of ſuch events. Amidſt the unſettled turbulence of riſing ſtates, the

Peculiar advantages of the age in which they lived.

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the foundation and deſtruction of cities, the perpetual wars and negotiations of neighbouring communities, they were daily preſented with ſubjects worthy the grandeur of the heroic muſe. The eſtabliſhment of colonies, the origin of new ſuperſtitions, as well as the imaginary legends which ſupported the old, furniſhed copious materials for many a wondrous ſong. Theſe materials, being eagerly embraced by the choice, were embelliſhed by the fancy of the early bards; who, continually rehearſing them to their contemporaries, had an opportunity of remarking, in their approbation or diſlike, the circumſtances neceſſary to be added, taken away, or altered, in order to give their productions the happieſt effect, and the higheſt degree of ſtrength and beauty. As writing was little practiſed for the purpoſe of communicating knowledge, ſucceeding poets learned to repeat the verſes of their predeceſſors; and, having treaſured them in their memory, they adopted them as their own. Frequent repetition, attended with ſuch careful obſervations as were natural to men whoſe fame and fortune depended on the ſucceſs of their art, produced new alterations and amendments[25]; and their performances, thus improving by degrees, acquired that juſt meaſure of perfection, to which nothing could with propriety be added, and from which nothing could with propriety be taken away. In this manner, perhaps, the Iliad and Odyſſey

The perfection and authority of their works.

[25] Εγειναι την ποιητικην εκ των αυτοσχεδιασματων.
Ariſtot. Poet. c. iv.

received

received the laſt poliſh; the harmonious animation of poetry was admired as the language of the gods; and poets, originally the miniſters of heaven, the inſtructors of youth, and the rewarders of merit, were finally regarded as the great authors of religion, the principal benefactors of mankind, and, as ſhall be explained hereafter, the wiſe legiſlators of nations.

Change of manners, and introduction of iambic, or ſatire.

As the ſingular manners and events of the heroic ages naturally produced the lofty ſtrains of the epic muſe, ſo the ſtate of ſociety in Greece, during the immediately ſucceeding periods, highly favoured the introduction of other kinds of poetry. The abolition of the royal governments gave free ſcope to the activity and turbulence of democracy; and the rivalſhips and enmities of neighbouring ſtates, rankling in the minds of their citizens, prepared the imaginations of men for taking a malignant pleaſure in works of invective and reproach. The innumerable cauſes of alienation, hatred, and diſguſt, which operated alſo within the boſom of each little republic, opened an inexhauſtible ſource of ſatire. The competitions for civil offices, for military command, and for other places of truſt, profit, or honour, all of which were conferred by the free ſuffrages of the people, occaſioned irreconcilable variance between the ambitious members of the ſame community, and ſubjected the characters of men to mutual ſcrutiny and remark. The ſentiments of the Greeks, not being perverted by the habits of ſlavery, nor reſtrained by the ter-

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rors of a deſpot, they boldly expreſſed what they freely thought; they might openly declare a juſt contempt; and, while they extolled in the lofty ode and ſwelling panegyric the heroes and patriots whom they admired, they laſhed the cowards and traitors whom they deſpiſed, with all the ſeverity of ſatire.

Elegiac verſe.

The ode and ſatire may be ſucceſsfully cultivated by imitators in the worſt of times; but they could ſcarcely have been invented and perfected under any other than a popular government. The plaintive elegy, on the other hand, which deſcribes the torments of unſucceſsful love, or which paints the affliction of a miſerable parent, an affectionate ſon, a diſconſolate wife, or a faithful friend, for the loſs of the ſeveral objects moſt dear to their hearts, ſeems to be the ſpontaneous production of every ſoil, and hardly to receive any change of impreſſion from the fluctuating forms of ſociety. The particular purpoſes, however, to which the Greeks principally applied this ſpecies of poetry, appear to have been ſuggeſted by their peculiar circumſtances at the time of its origin. During the violence and diſorder occaſioned by the political revolutions, the frequent migrations, and the almoſt uninterrupted hoſtilities which ſucceeded and increaſed the calamities of the Trojan war, it was natural for thoſe who reaſoned concerning the affairs of men, to form, according to the original bent of their minds, two oppoſite theories for the beſt improvement of human life. Men of a firm texture of ſoul would prepare for the miſery which awaited

The purpoſes to which it was applied naturally ſuggeſted by the ſtate of ſociety.

awaited them, by ſtrengthening their natural hardineſs, and fortifying their natural intrepidity. The contempt of pain, and danger, and death, would be the great principle of their lives, and the perpetual ſubject of their ſong; and while they deſcribed the inevitable diſgrace of weakneſs and cowardice, they would extol, with the moſt lively ſenſibility, the glory of valour, the triumphs of ſucceſs, and the joys of victory. Such themes might delight the martial muſe of Tyrtæus and Callinus, but could offer no charms to the effeminate ſoftneſs of Mimnermus, or to the licentious debauchery of Archilochus. To perſons of their character, the calamities of the times, inſtead of appearing an argument for virtue, would prove an incitement to pleaſure. The precarious condition of their lives and fortunes, while it depreciated all other objects, would increaſe the value of preſent enjoyment. In the agreeable amuſements of the fleeting hour, they would ſeek refuge againſt the melancholy proſperity of futurity. The pleaſures of the table, the delights of love, the charm of the elegant arts and of converſation, would be perpetually ſtudied in their lives, and perpetually recommended in their poetry.

The precious remains of their writings, and ſtill more the authentic circumſtances related concerning the characters of the ancient poets, ſufficiently confirm the truth of theſe obſervations. Next to Homer, Archilochus is the earlieſt Greek writer, whoſe life is recorded ſo minutely as may ſerve to throw any conſiderable light on the hiſtory of his

Theſe obſervations illuſtrated by the hiſtory of Archilochus. Olymp. xv. 3. A.C. 718.

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country. We are told by Herodotus [16], that he flouriſhed in the time of Gyges, king of Lydia, who mounted the throne ſeven hundred and eighteen years before Chriſt. He was a native of the iſle of Paros, one of the Cyclades, which had already become wealthy and populous. His father, Teleſicles, muſt have been a perſon of diſtinction, ſince he was employed to head a deputation of his countrymen to the oracle of Apollo. The object of the Parians was to obtain a favourable anſwer from the god concerning an enterpriſe, which they had long meditated, of ſettling a colony in the valuable iſland of Thaſos, oppoſite to the coaſt of Thrace. The oracle approved the deſign, and in order to reward the reſpectful behaviour, and to repay the rich preſents delivered to the holy ſhrine by Teleſicles, who had unfortunately diſgraced the dignity of his rank by an unequal marriage with a beautiful ſlave named Enipo, declared that the fame of Archilochus, the glorious fruit of this diſhonourable connection, ſhould deſcend to the lateſt ages of the world.

The prophecy would naturally contribute to its own accompliſhment; eſpecially as Archilochus deſcended from a family, in which the love of poetry was an hereditary paſſion. Tellis, his grandfather, accompanied the prieſteſs of Ceres, in order to eſtabliſh the Eleuſinian myſteries in the iſle of Thaſos, an employment, which, like the ſacred commiſſion of Teleſicles at the city of Apollo,

[16] Lib. i. cap. 12.

could

could not have been exerciſed by any other than a favourite of the Muſes. Enjoying the example of ſuch anceſtors, and encouraged by the admonition of the god, it was to be expected that the young poet ſhould ſecond the gifts of nature by the efforts of induſtry; and that his juvenile productions ſhould ſoon have been diſtinguiſhed above thoſe of his contemporaries, by dignity of ſentiment, force of expreſſion, and beauty of imagery.

In that martial age, no ſuperiority of genius, rank, or fortune could exempt its poſſeſſor from the duty of ſerving his country in the exerciſe of arms[17]. The Parian colony in Thaſos, having ineffectually endeavoured by its own ſtrength to eſtabliſh a ſettlement in Thrace, was obliged, in order to accompliſh this deſign, to have recourſe to the aſſiſtance of the parent iſle. Archilochus ſerved in this expedition, which, though finally ſucceſsful, was chequered with a great variety of fortune. During an engagement with the barbarous Thracians, in which his countrymen were defeated and put to flight, he ſaved his life by throwing away his ſhield; an action ſo extremely inconſiſtent with the military prejudices of the age, that all his eloquence and ingenuity were incapable of extenuating its infamy.

On his return home, he renewed his addreſſes to a Parian damſel named Neobulé. Her father

[17] This was not the caſe in the heroic ages; the bards, though called Ἥρωες, as being of the firſt rank in ſociety, were exempted from the fatigues of war. Hom. Odyſſ. paſſim.

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Lycambes, who had at firſt granted, afterwards refuſed his conſent, whether diſguſted by the unwarlike and therefore contemptible character of Archilochus, or tempted by the alluring offers of a richer rival. If we believe the poet, it was avarice alone that corrupted the ſordid mind of Lycambes; and both he and his daughter, regardleſs of their plighted faith and repeated oaths, ſacrificed their ſentiments and character to the mean gratification of this ignoble paſſion.

This aſſertion he maintained by his poetical invectives, full of indignation and reſentment againſt the whole family of the ſuppoſed traitors. His verſes were rehearſed at the public games, where the force and vivacity of the ſatire were univerſally admired. Calumny, however, ſeems to have joined her poiſoned darts to the more fair and equitable weapons employed by the anger of diſappointed love. Neobulé and her ſiſters were accuſed of every vice moſt inconſiſtent with the modeſt dignity of the female character. Yet ſuch an accuſation is extremely improbable, conſidering the reſerved circumſpection of Neobulé herſelf, during the ardent ſolicitations of Archilochus; a behaviour which naturally increaſed the fire of his paſſion, and ſharpened the edge of his ſatire.

His reproach and calumny, however ill-grounded and unreaſonable, gained an eaſy credit among the rivals and enemies of Lycambes; and the bitter taunts and invectives, which the malice of the poet had invented, the ſcornful contempt of the Parians too faithfully retained. An old poem was

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no ſooner in danger of being forgotten, than it was ſucceeded by new verſes, couched in the livelieſt turns of ingenious ſatire. The perpetual ſtrokes of malevolence, darted againſt the family of Lycambes by the perſevering cruelty of the poet, rendered their characters ſuſpicious to the public, and their lives painful to themſelves. They determined to withdraw from a ſcene, which ſeemed a conſtant variation of miſery; and died in deſpair by their own hands.

The poems which produced this melancholy effect, and of which ſome ſcattered remains have reached the preſent times, were written in iambic [18] verſe of ſix and four feet. When the lines were of the ſame length throughout, the piece was entitled an iambic; but when ſhort and long verſes alternately ſucceeded each other, it was called, from this circumſtance, an epode [19]; a name which Horace has given to thoſe performances in which he imitated the poetry and ſpirit of Archilochus, not copying, with ſervility, his ſentiments and expreſſion [20].

[18] The term iambic is ſynonymous in Greek with the words reproachful, ſatirical. Ariſt. Poet.

[19] This word, concerning the meaning of which there have been innumerable diſputes, ſimply denotes the ſucceſſion of verſes or ſtanzas of different length or ſtructure. In the firſt ſenſe it is explained in the text; in the ſecond it will be explained in ſpeaking of the ode, of which the epode regularly formed the third ſtanza, as we learn from Hepheſtion, Terentianus Maurus, Marius Victorinus, and other ancient grammarians and philologiſts.

[20] Parios ego primus iambos
Oſtendi Latio, numeros animoſque ſecutus
Archilochi, non res, & agentia verba Lycamben.
Epiſt. lib. i. 19.

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Though iambic was the favourite[21] purſuit of Archilochus, his genius was not entirely confined to that ſpecies of writing. Endowed with an extreme ſenſibility of heart, he was inclined to gratitude and friendſhip, as well as to enmity and reſentment. Animated by the former ſentiments, he lamented the death of a kinſman and friend, who had unfortunately periſhed by ſhipwreck. The piece conſiſted of alternate hexameter and pentameter verſes, and abounded in elegiac ſtrains, which were admired by the greateſt critics of antiquity. The ſublime Longinus, in particular, extols the affecting deſcription of the ſhipwreck; and Plutarch[22] has preſerved the concluſion of the piece, in which the poet having aſſerted the hurtfulneſs of ſorrow to the living, and its inutility to the dead, determines thenceforth to abſtain from unavailing lamentations, and to ſeek relief for his affliction in wine, love, and other ſenſual pleaſures.

His malignity.

Theſe ſentiments of Archilochus ſeem to prove, that whatever may have been the poetical merit of his elegy, the tender paſſions were leſs fitted than the iraſcible, to make a durable impreſſion on his heart. He ſoon forſook the elegiac muſe; and his natural diſpoſition, as well as the fame which he had already acquired by his ſatires, led him to purſue that ſpecies of writing with unabating ardour. The perpetual rivalſhips and competitions among the principal Parian citizens, who aſpired

[21] Archilochum proprio rabies armavit iambo.

[22] De audiend. Poet.

at

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at the firſt offices of government, frequently degenerating into hatred, malice, and revenge, they obſerved, with infinite delight, the aſperſions, however foul and falſe, that were caſt on their opponents. The malignity of the public thus nouriſhed and exaſperated the venom of the poet; but there was a degree of virulence beyond which it could not with ſafety proceed. After making the circle of the whole ſociety, and equally offending friends and foes by his exceſſive and indiſcriminate reproach, Archilochus came to be regarded as a public enemy. The licentious impurity of his manners, which bade defiance to every law of decency and of nature, heightened the deteſtation of his character, and he was compelled to fly in diſgrace from his native iſland, to which his genius would have been an ornament, had his behaviour been leſs offenſive [23]. Baniſhment.

Baniſhed from the iſle of Paros, the poet ſought protection in the Thaſian colony, to the eſtabliſhment of which the ſervices of his father had ſo eminently contributed; but, unfortunately for his repoſe, the fame of his ſatires had gone before him, and the diſgrace of having loſt his ſhield in the Thracian expedition was a ſtain not eaſily wiped off. His reception among the Thaſians, therefore, anſwered neither his own expectations, nor the liberal ſpirit of ancient hoſpitality. He ſoon quitted a place in which his company was ſo little acceptable, yet not before he had lam- Wanderings.

23 Critias apud Ælian. Hiſt. l. ix. c. xiii.

pooned

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pooned the principal citizens of Thaſos, and endeavoured, by a ſingular and abſurd exceſs of reſentment, to ſatiriſe the narrowneſs and ſterility of the iſland itſelf.

Recovers the public eſteem at Olympia.

The wandering poet was not more fortunate in ſeveral other diſtricts of Greece in which he took refuge. The warlike Spartans would ſcarcely admit into their city, a writer who had ſaid that it was better for a ſoldier to loſe his ſhield than his life, becauſe he might purchaſe new armour, but could not acquire a new exiſtence. Archilochus, thus abandoned, perſecuted, and contemned, made one ſpirited effort for recovering his ancient character, and regaining the public eſteem. The time approached for celebrating the Olympic feſtival. The irregularity of his manners, the general deteſtation of his behaviour as a ſoldier, and, above all, his avowed vindication of cowardice, ſhould, according to received rules, have excluded him from aſſiſting at that ſolemnity: but having removed the prejudices which the citizens of Elis had naturally conceived againſt him, by diſplaying his wonderful talents for muſic and poetry, he took care to inſinuate that he was poſſeſſed of an ode in praiſe of Hercules, which, if rehearſed before the public aſſembly, would equally entertain the fancy, and improve the piety of the ſpectators. The intereſt of religion being materially concerned in this propoſal, the judges of the games thought proper to comply with it. Archilochus appeared on the appointed day among the Olympic bards. After his competitors had given ſpecimens of their art

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art in ſuch muſical compoſitions as the audience were accuſtomed to hear, he began the ſong in honour of Hercules, accompanied with the ſound of his lyre, and written with ſuch new variations of verſe, as neceſſarily occaſioned new modulations of melody. It is probable that, on this occaſion, he firſt practiſed the invention aſcribed to him by Plutarch[24], of paſſing, with rapidity, from one rhythm, or meaſure, to another of a different kind. The novelty, the beauty, and the grandeur of his compoſition, raviſhed the ſenſes, and elevated the ſouls of his hearers. The demerit of the performer was obliterated in the perfection of his ſong. The unanimous applauſe of the aſſembly declared his ſuperiority to every rival, and he was immediately rewarded by the prize, and adorned with the crown of victory[25].

Returns to his native iſland.

Having acquired ſuch diſtinguiſhed renown in the public theatre of aſſembled ſtates, Archilochus returned with exultation to his native country, the glory of which had been proclaimed at Olympia, in conſequence of the ſucceſsful merit of a baniſhed citizen. This proclamation being deemed the higheſt honour which an individual could procure for his community, the hatred and reſentment formerly entertained againſt the poet was converted into gratitude and admiration. The

[24] De Muſic.

[25] We learn from Pindar and his ſcholiaſt, Ode Olymp. ix. that this celebrated poem of Archilochus long continued to be ſung at the Olympic games, in order to grace the coronation of thoſe victors who either could not afford, or who did not incline, to purchaſe an ode in their particular honour.

renewed

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renewed reſpect of his country occaſioned many ebullitions of poetical vanity, which evaporated in ſome verſes that have reached the preſent times [26]. When death put an end to his labours, it could not extinguiſh his fame. His obſequies were diſtinguiſhed by every ſad circumſtance of funeral pomp; and his memory was celebrated by a feſtival, eſtabliſhed by the gratitude of his countrymen, and adopted by the general admiration of the Greeks, during which the verſes of Archilochus were ſung alternately with the poems of Homer [27]: and thus, by a fatality frequently attending men of genius, he ſpent a life of miſery, and acquired honour after death. Reproach, ignominy, contempt, poverty, and perſecution, were the ordinary companions of his perſon; admiration, glory, reſpect, ſplendour, and magnificence, were the melancholy attendants of his ſhade.

His ſingular honours.

Hiſtory of the lyric poets.

Terpander.

Archilochus was the principal improver, not only of the iambic, but of the graver kind of lyric poetry; and Terpander, who flouriſhed in the ſame age, was, as far as we can trace the hiſtory of the arts, the chief promoter of the gay and feſtive kinds of lyric compoſition. This agreeable poet was a native of Leſbos. He obtained the muſical prize in the Carnean feſtival at Sparta; and in the beginning of the ſeventh century before Chriſt, gained four ſucceſſive prizes at Delphi, as appeared by a correct regiſter of the conquerors in

[26] Athenæus, l. xiv. Pauſanias, l. x. Stobæus, ſerm. 123.
[27] Anthol. p. 212. Ariſtot. Rhetor. l. ii.

the

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the Pythian games, preſerved in the time of Plutarch [28]. Theſe advantages procured him the reſpect of his contemporaries; but he was honoured by poſterity chiefly for his improvement of the lyre, and for the new varieties of meaſure which he introduced into the Grecian poetry [29].

The example of Archilochus and Terpander [30] was followed by the nine Lyric poets, who, in the courſe of two centuries, flouriſhed almoſt in regular ſucceſſion, and maintained the poetic fame of their country. Of the two moſt ancient, Alcman and Steſichorus, we have only a few imperfect remains: of Sappho there are two complete odes; her followers, Alcæus, Simonides, Ibycus, and Bacchilides, are known by a few mutilated fragments, and by the remarks of ancient critics; but we ſtill poſſeſs many inimitable odes of Pindar, and many pleaſant ſongs of Anacreon.

Sappho, Alcæus, &c.

As to the Grecian lyriſts in general, it is worthy of obſervation, that except Alcman of Sardis, who on account of his merit was naturaliſed at Sparta, Pindar of Thebes in Bœotia, and Steſichorus of Himera in Sicily, all the reſt were born on the Aſiatic coaſt, or in the iſlands of the Ægean ſea. Theſe enchanting climates were the beſt adapted to inſpire the raptures peculiar to the ode,

28 De Muſic.

29 Euclid. Harmon. Strabo, l. xiii.

30 Πινδαρος φησ ὁτι των σκολιων μελων Τερπανδρος ευρετης εστ. Plut. de Muſic. Pindar ſays, "that Terpander invented the Scho-"lia," which, according to Pollux and Heſychius, properly denote the drinking ſongs of the Greeks; but, in a more general ſenſe, ſignify every kind of lyric poetry not aſpiring to the dignity of the ode.

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as well as to excite that voluptuous gaiety characteriſtic of the Grecian ſong[31]. Amidſt the romantic ſcenes of Ionia, was felt with uncommon ſenſibility the force of that pleaſing painful paſſion, which, uniting grief, joy, and enthuſiaſm, contains the fruitful ſeeds of whatever is moſt perfect in muſic and poetry[32]. Here the celebrated Sappho breathed the amorous flames by which ſhe was conſumed; while her countryman and lover Alcæus declared the warmth of his attachment, excited leſs perhaps by the beauty of her perſon, than by the bewitching charms of her voice. But neither Alcæus, who flouriſhed in the beginning of the ſixth, nor Anacreon, who flouriſhed in the beginning of the fifth century before Chriſt, allowed the natural vivacity of their tempers to be overcome by the ſeverities of a paſſion which they conſidered chiefly as an inſtrument of pleaſure. When unfortunate in love, they had recourſe to wine; and their lively invitations to this enjoyment compoſed the favourite *airs* of antiquity[33]. Of Alcæus it is uſual to judge by the ſcattered remains of his works preſerved in Plutarch[34] and Athenæus[35], and by the high commendations beſtowed on him by Horace and Quintilian. The Latin poet, however, ſeems on many occaſions to have

[31] Hippocrat. de Locis, vol. ii. p. 346. Edit. Lugd. Bat.

[32] Agreeably to the principles eſtabliſhed by Theophraſtus in Plutarch's Sympoſium.

[33] Give us a ſong of Alcæus or Anacreon, was a common ſaying in the age of Socrates. Athenæus, l. x. c. viii.

[34] Sympoſ. c. vi. [35] Lib. x.

ſo

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ſo exactly imitated, or rather tranſlated the Greek, that the copy will perhaps beſt enable us to form a complete idea of the original [36].

Alcæus, though he chiefly indulged in the gay and ſportive ſtrains of poetry, was yet qualified to undertake more lofty [37] themes; but the whole ſoul of Anacreon was of that effeminate texture which fitted him only to ſing of love and pleaſure [38]. Venus, Bacchus, Cupid, and the Graces, were the peculiar divinities whom he adored; and the preſents which he offered at their ſhrine were the moſt acceptable that any mortal could beſtow. He not only obſerved the external rites and ceremonies which they commanded, but proved that his heart and mind had imbibed the genuine ſpirit of their worſhip. Throughout the whole of his works now remaining [39], we find the moſt inimitable ſimplicity, purity, and ſweetneſs of diction: his

Anacreon.

36 Μηδεν αλλο φυτευσης προτερον δενδρον αμπελου. ALC.
• Nullam, Vare, ſacra vite, prius ſeveris arborem.
Other tranſlations, equally literal, may be diſcovered by carefully examining the fragments in Athenæus, l. x.

37 In luſus & amores deſcendit, majoribus tamen aptior. QUIN. l. x. c. i.

38 Ὁ Βαρβιτος δε χορδαις
Ερωτα μονον ηχει —— ANAC. Od. i.

39 The works of Anacreon are ſaid, by Petrus Alcyonius de exilio, to have been burned by the Greek prieſts of Conſtantinople, from which ſome learned men, deſtitute of taſte, have abſurdly concluded, that the works aſcribed to the old poet are ſpurious. It cannot, ſurely, be ſaid of thoſe poems, "Etſi excitant animos noſtrorum hominum ad flagrantiorem religionis cultum, non tamen verborum Atticorum proprietatem & linguæ Græcæ elegantiam docent;" which is the character that Petrus Alcyonius gives of the compoſitions ſubſtituted by the prieſts in their place.

verſes

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verſes flow with a ſmooth volubility; his images, ſentiments, and reaſonings (if what in him ſeems intuitive conviction can be called reaſonings) are copied from the warmeſt impreſſions of nature. Yet in theſe poems, otherwiſe ſo beautiful and ſo perfect, there may be diſcovered an extreme licentiouſneſs of manners, and a ſingular voluptuouſneſs of fancy, extending beyond the ſenſes, and tainting the ſoul itſelf.

Steſichorus.

The diſſolute gaiety of Anacreon, the delicate ſenſibility of Sappho, and the tearful complaints of Simonides[40], were all expreſſed in that eaſy equable flow of uninterrupted harmony, which, in the opinion of the moſt learned of their countrymen[41], poſſeſſes more grace than ſtrength, and more beauty than grandeur. The majeſtic muſe of Steſichorus ſoared a loftier pitch. Diſdaining the ſubjects to which the other lyriſts deſcended, he ſung of war and heroes, and ſupported, by his harp, the whole weight and dignity of epic poetry[42]. Such, at leaſt, are the ſentiments of a celebrated critic, who had read his works, of which we are at preſent entitled to judge only by their reſemblance to thoſe of Pindar, who poſſeſſed a ſimilar turn of genius, and treated the ſame lofty themes.

Pindar.

The honours beſtowed on Pindar by his contemporaries, as well as the admiration in which his name was uniformly held by the moſt improved

40 Mœſtius lachrymis Simonideis. Catull.

41 Dionyſius Halicarn.

42 Epici carminis onera lyrâ ſuſtinentem. Quint.

nations

nations of antiquity, render both his perſon and his works objects of a very natural curioſity. He was born five hundred and twenty years before Chriſt, and his long life almoſt completed the full revolution of a century. His age, therefore, extended beyond the period of hiſtory now under our review; yet the works of his predeceſſors having periſhed by the ravages of time and barbariſm, it is neceſſary to examine, in this place, the nature and character of the writings of Pindar, as the only materials remaining that can enable us to form a general notion of the performances recited by the lyric poets at the principal Grecian ſolemnities. Pindar, from his earlieſt years, was carefully trained by his father (himſelf a muſician) to the ſtudies of muſic and poetry. His genius, naturally wild and luxuriant, was corrected by the leſſons of his fair countrywomen, Myrtis and Corinna[43], whoſe poetical productions had acquired unrivalled fame, not only in Thebes, but in many neighbouring cities[44]. His firſt efforts for equalling their renown were diſplayed at the muſical conteſts celebrated in his native country; where, after conquering Myrtis, he was five times overcome by Corinna, who, could we believe the voice of ſcandal, owed her repeated victories more to the charms of her beauty than to the ſuperiority of her genius[45]. But in the four public aſſemblies of Greece, where females were not admitted to contend,

the admiration in which he was held.

43 Pauſanias, l. ix. c. xxii. 44 Lucian. Ælian. Var. Hiſt.
45 Pauſan. ibid.

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tend, Pindar carried off the prize from every competitor. The glory, in particular, which his poetry both acquired and beſtowed at Olympia, made the greateſt generals and ſtateſmen of the age court the friendſhip of his muſe. To the temples of the gods, and eſpecially to the celebrated temple of Delphi, his hymns and pœans drew an extraordinary concourſe of Greeks and ſtrangers. The prieſts, prophets, and other miniſters of Apollo, ſenſible of the benefits which they derived from his muſical fame, repaid the merit of his ſervices by erecting his ſtatue in the moſt conſpicious part of the temple, and declared by their organ the Pythia, that Pindar ſhould be honoured with one half of the firſt-fruit offerings annually preſented by the devout retainers of the Delphian ſhrine[46]. Pindar was thus, during his lifetime, aſſociated to the honours of the gods; and after his death, his memory was adorned by every mark of reſpect that public admiration can beſtow. The beauty of the monument, erected to him by his fellow-citizens in the Hippodrome of Thebes, was admired after the revolution of ſix centuries[47]. At the Theoxenian feſtival, a portion of the ſacred victim was appropriated, even as late as the time of Plutarch, to the deſcendants of the poet. The inveterate hoſtility of the Spartans, when they deſtroyed the capital of their ancient and cruelleſt enemies, ſpared the houſe of Pindar, which was equally reſpected in a future age by the warlike and

[46] Pauſan. Phocic. [47] Pauſan. Bœotic.

impetuous

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impetuous ſon of Philip, and the giddy triumph of his Macedonian captains [48].

Diviſion and nature of his works.

Pindar, we are told, acquired unrivalled fame by his hymns to Jupiter, his pœans to Apollo, and his dithyrambics to Bacchus. But as all theſe works have periſhed, as well as his love verſes, his elegies, and his Parthenia [49], we are unfortunately obliged to confine our obſervations to the odes, which were rehearſed at the ſacred games, in praiſe of the conquerors in the gymnaſtic and equeſtrian conteſts. Theſe conquerors being perſons of the firſt diſtinction in Greece, the poet takes occaſion to celebrate the ſplendor of their paſt lives, the dignity of their character, the fame of their anceſtors, and the glory of their ſeveral republics. The tutelary deities, to whom they owed their felicity, are not forgotten; and hence, by an eaſy tranſition, the poet paſſes to the worſhip of the god in whoſe honour the games were eſtabliſhed; to the adoration of the heroes who had appointed them; and to innumerable other epiſodes, which are often more intereſting and more beautiful than the original ſubject.

Such, moſt commonly, are the materials of the ode; and its form uſually conſiſted of three ſtanzas, of which the two firſt were of an equal length, and either of them longer than the third. This arrangement was introduced as moſt ſuitable to the occaſion of the poem, as well as to the ſcene on

[48] Polyb. Hiſtor.

[49] Sung, as the word denotes, by a chorus of virgins.

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which it was rehearſed. The occaſion was the ſolemn ſacrifice, accompanied by a public entertainment given to the ſpectators by the friends of the ſucceſsful candidate for Olympic fame. Grateful acknowledgments to the gods formed a principal part of the ceremony, which could not, without impiety, be omitted by the victor, who had obtained ſo honourable a prize through the aſſiſtance of his protecting divinity. On the altar of this divinity the ſacrifice was performed; and in his temple was ſung the panegyrical poem, containing the united praiſes of the beneficent god, and of his favoured votary. The chorus waited, as uſual, to begin the ſong, till the preparations were made for the feaſt. They repeated the firſt ſtanza, properly called ſtrophé, while they gratefully danced, towards the right, round the well-repleniſhed altar; returning, in an oppoſite direction, to the place from which they ſet out, they recited the ſecond ſtanza, therefore called antiſtrophé; then ſtanding motionleſs before the altar, and, as it were, in the immediate preſence of the divinity, with whoſe ſtatue it was adorned, they ſung the concluding ſtanza, with a richer exuberance, and more complicated variations, of melody [50]. The ode, therefore, was diſtinguiſhed from other pieces of poetry, not by being ſet to muſic [51] (for this was common to them all), but by being ſung by a

[50] Marius Victorinus de Gram. and the Scholia on Hephæſtion.

[51] This error runs through the whole of the otherwiſe very ſenſible diſcourſe of Mr. Charbanon on lyric poetry, in the Memoires de l'Academie.

chorus,

chorus, who accompanied the various inflections of the voice with ſuitable attitudes and movements of the body. CHAP. VI.

The lyric poetry of the Greeks thus united the pleaſures of the ear, of the eye, and of the underſtanding. In the various nature of the entertainment conſiſted its eſſential merit and perfection; and *he* only could be entitled the prince of lyric poets, whoſe verſes happily conſpired with the general tendency of this complicated exhibition. By the univerſal conſent of antiquity, this poet is Pindar, whom, ever ſince the eulogium of Horace, critics have extolled for the brilliancy of his imagination, the figurative boldneſs of his diction, the fire, animation, and enthuſiaſm of his genius. The panegyrics, beſtowed on him, have generally more of the wildneſs of the ode, than of the coolneſs of criticiſm; ſo that the peculiar nature of his excellencies may ſtill deſerve to be explained. It will be allowed by every one who reads his works with attention, that, great as his ideas are, Pindar is leſs diſtinguiſhed by the ſublimity of his thoughts and ſentiments, than by the grandeur of his language and expreſſion; and that his *inimitable* [52] excellence conſiſts in the energy, propriety, and magnificence of his ſtyle, ſo ſingularly fitted to aſſociate with the lengthened tones of muſic, and the figured movements of the dance. The uniform cadence, the ſmooth volubility, and the light unimportance of ordinary compoſition, are ex- His characteriſtic excellence.

[52] Pindarum quiſquis ſtudet *emulari*, &c.

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tremely ill adapted to this aſſociation, which bringing every ſingle word into notice, and ſubjecting it to obſervation and remark, muſt expoſe its natural meanneſs, inſignificance, and poverty. But as much as the language of ordinary writers would loſe, that of Pindar muſt gain, by ſuch an examination. His words and phraſes are choſen with an habitual care, and poſſeſs a certain weight and dignity, which, the more they are contemplated, muſt be the more admired. It is this magnificence of diction, thoſe compound epithets, and thoſe glowing expreſſions (which the coldneſs of criticiſm has ſometimes condemned as extravagant), that form the tranſcendent merit of the Pindaric ſtyle, and diſtinguiſh it even more than the general flow of the verſification, which is commonly ſo natural, free, and unreſtrained, that it bears leſs reſemblance to poetry, than to a beautiful and harmonious proſe. It is not meant, however, that this great poet paid more attention to the choice, than to the arrangement, of words. The majeſty of the *compoſition* equalled, and in the opinion of a great critic, even ſurpaſſed the value of the materials. Dionyſius, the critic to whom I allude, has explained by what admirable refinements of art, Pindar gave to his words a certain firmneſs and ſolidity of conſiſtence, ſeparated them at wide intervals, placed them on a broad baſe, and raiſed them to a lofty eminence, from which they darted thoſe irradiations of ſplendor, that aſtoniſhed the moſt diſtant beholders.

But

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But the moſt exalted fame cannot extend with equal facility to diſtance of time and diſtance of place. The poems of Pindar are now deprived of their accompaniments of muſic and dancing, by which they were formerly ennobled and adorned. They are now read in the retirement of the cloſet, without perſonal intereſt and without patriotic emotion. They were anciently ſung to large aſſemblies of men, who believed the religion which they deſcribed, knew the characters whom they celebrated, and felt the influence of that piety and patriotiſm which they were admirably calculated to uphold. Such paſſages as may appear moſt exceptionable in the cool moments of ſolitary ſtudy, would obtain the higheſt applauſe amidſt the joyous animation of ſocial triumph, when men are naturally diſpoſed to admire every happy boldneſs of expreſſion, and to behold, with unuſual rapture, thoſe lofty and dangerous flights which elevate the daring muſe of Pindar.

Phyſical effects of the public games.

In examining the effect of the games, as inſtitutions for bodily exerciſe and mental improvement, it is neceſſary to reflect, not only on the univerſality of their eſtabliſhment, but on the frequency of their repetition. Beſides the public ſolemnities already deſcribed, innumerable provincial feſtivals were celebrated in each particular republic. The Athenians employed near a third part of the year in ſuch amuſements; and if we may be allowed to conjecture, that thoſe communities which inſtituted moſt feſtivals, would moſt excel in the arts and exerciſes diſplayed in them,

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we may conclude, from the national deſignations of the Olympic victors preſerved in ancient authors, that the number of the Athenian feſtivals was rivalled by that of ſeveral other ſtates.

For theſe warlike and elegant amuſements, the youth were carefully trained by the diſcipline of the gymnaſia, in which they learned whatever can give ſtrength and agility to the limbs, eaſe and grace to the motions, force and beauty to the genius. Bodily ſtrength and agility were accompanied by health and vigour of conſtitution. Their athletic hardineſs bore, without inconvenience, the viciſſitudes of cold and heat. Even in the ſcorching warmth [53] of July (for that was the ſeaſon of the Olympic games), they received, bareheaded, the direct rays of the ſun. And the firm organization, acquired by perpetual exerciſe, counteracted that fatal propenſity to vicious indulgence, too natural to their voluptuous climate, and produced thoſe inimitable models of ſtrength and beauty, which are ſo deſervedly admired in the precious remains of Grecian ſtatuary.

They produced courage,

Theſe corporeal advantages were followed by a train of excellencies to which they are nearly allied. There is a courage depending on nerves and blood, which was improved to the higheſt pitch among the Greeks. They delight, ſays Lucian [54], to behold the combats of bold and generous animals; and their own contentions are ſtill more animated. In the memorable war with Perſia,

53 Lucian, Solon.

54 In Solon.

they

they ſhewed the ſuperiority of their national courage; and it is worthy of obſervation, that the moſt ſignal exploits were performed in the field of battle by thoſe who had been previouſly adorned with the Olympic crown. It was a general boaſt, that one Grecian could conquer ten Perſians[55]; and the ſuggeſtions of reaſon tend to confirm the evidence of hiſtory. In the battles of the Greeks and Perſians, victory was not obtained by the mechanical exertions of diſtant hoſtility. The conteſt was decided by the point of the ſword and ſpear. The uſe of theſe weapons requires activity of the limbs, ſteadineſs of the eye, and dexterity of the hand. It improves the courage as well as the vigour of the ſoldier; and both qualities were admirably promoted by the habitual exerciſes of the gymnaſia, which inſpired not only the ſpirit to undertake, but the ability to execute, the moſt dangerous and difficult enterpriſes.

and temperance.

The gymnaſtic arts encouraged other excellencies ſtill more important than bodily accompliſhments and courage. Chiefly by *their* influence, the love of pleaſure and the love of action, the two moſt powerful principles in the human breaſt, were directed to purpoſes not only innocent but uſeful. The deſire of an Olympic crown reſtrained alike thoſe weakneſſes which form the diſgrace, and thoſe vices which form the guilt and miſery of undiſciplined minds; and an object of earthly and periſhable ambition led to the ſame external purity and temperance, that is recommended by the pre-

55 Herodot. l. viii.

cepts,

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cepts, and enforced by the ſanctions, of a divine and immutable religion. The oil, the crown, the robes, and the palms, compoſe not the *only* reremblance between the Chriſtian and the Olympic victors. The viſible images have been borrowed indeed by the ſacred writers, to aſſiſt our imperfect conception of divine truths [56]; but they have been borrowed from an inſtitution which reſembles Chriſtianity, not in the honours and rewards which it propoſed, but in the efforts and duties which it required. The ambition of honeſt fame [57] taught men to control the appetites of the body by the affections of the ſoul; the ſprings of emulation repreſſed the allurements of ſenſuality; one dangerous paſſion combated another ſtill more dangerous; and a train of uſeful prejudices ſupported the cauſe, and maintained the aſcendant, of virtue.

Contempt for the modern notions concerning the point of honour.

Many of the peculiarities which diſtinguiſh the Greeks from the maſs of ancient and modern nations, ſeem to have derived their origin from the ſame uſeful inſtitutions; particularly the cuſtom of going unarmed, and their perpetual contempt for the capricious notions concerning the point of honour. Theſe unpoliſhed republicans were accuſtomed, in the private gymnaſias, as well as at the public entertainments, to inflict and to ſuffer the moſt provoking indignities. A barbarous Scythian, who witneſſed a ſpectacle that ſeemed

56 1 Corinth. 9th chapter, four laſt verſes.

57 Qui ſtudet optatam curſu contingere metum,
Multa tulit fecitque puer ſudavit & alſit
Abſtinuit venere & vino.

to

to him as ſhocking and intolerable as it would appear to a punctilious modern gentleman, declared to his Athenian conductor, that if any perſon ſhould offer the ſame inſults to him, which the Athenian youths were continually offering to each other, he would ſoon convince the aſſembly, that his ſword was not an empty ornament of his perſon, but an uſeful guardian of his honour[58]. Such were the ſentiments of the Scythian; and hiſtory proves, that ſuch are the ſentiments of all uncultivated minds. An untutored Barbarian ſets no bounds to his reſentment. The ſmalleſt injury renders his anger implacable; his indignation againſt the offender being proportioned, not to the nature of *his* offence, but to his own pride, which is boundleſs. The ſlighteſt fault requires the ſevereſt atonement; and not only a blow, but a word, or a look, may inflict a ſtain on the delicacy of his ſuppoſed honour, which can only be waſhed out by the blood of the aggreſſor. The exceſſes of this ſanguinary temper, before they were corrected by the refinements of Grecian philoſophy, were repreſſed by the habitual practice of the gymnaſtic exerciſes. In the ſchools appropriated to the advancement of theſe manly arts, the Greeks learned the valuable leſſon of repelling injuries by others of a ſimilar kind, of proportioning the puniſhment to the offence, and of thus preventing a ſlight occaſion of animoſity from degenerating into a ſolid ground of revenge. If any

[58] Lucian Anacharſis.

citizen

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citizen of thoſe warlike republics had worn armour in time of peace, he muſt have been regarded either as a madman or as an aſſaſſin; for to the chaſtiſed principles of Grecian diſcipline, it would have appeared altogether abſurd, that the ſword or dagger ſhould be thought neceſſary to retaliate the reproaches of the tongue, or even the more daring inſults of the arm.

Emulation and rewards of the victors.

The entertainments of the public feſtivals thus tended to eradicate the wild exceſſes of reſentment, and to improve the mild and gentle virtues; but conſidered in another view, the ſame entertainments were calculated to promote ardour, emulation, friendſhip, patriotiſm, and all the animated principles and contentions of active life. The rewards beſtowed on the conquerors were the moſt flattering which in that age could be propoſed. Odes were ſung in their praiſe; ſtatues were erected to them on the ſcene of victory; the names of their parents and country were jointly celebrated with their own; they were entitled to the firſt ſeats at all public entertainments; maintained at the expence of their reſpective communities; and, in their native cities, rewarded not only with monuments and inſcriptions, but ſometimes with altars and temples. Of theſe honours and rewards, the appropriated ſymbols were the olive, the pine, the parſley, and the laurel crowns; which were reſpectively diſtributed at the ſeveral ſolemnities of Olympia, the Iſthmus, Nemea, and Delphi. Obſerving the ſmall value of theſe badges of diſtinction, without adverting to the ſolid benefits which

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which they conferred, the Perſian Tigranes would have diſſuaded his maſter from going to war with a people, who, inſenſible to intereſt, fought only for glory [59]. But had Tigranes been more completely informed concerning the inſtitutions of Greece, he would have underſtood, that both intereſt and glory operated moſt powerfully upon the candidates for Olympic fame, and not only their perſonal intereſts, but thoſe of their friends, their parents, and their country, who, being aſſociated to their honours, were regarded by them with that love and affection which men naturally feel for the objects of their protection and bounty.

Influence of the muſical and poetical conteſts.

In explaining the influence of the Grecian ſolemnities, we muſt not forget the muſical and poetical exhibitions, which, from being employed to reward the victors in the gymnaſtic exerciſes, came to be themſelves thought worthy of reward. The martial leſſons of Tyrtæus and Callinus admirably conſpired with the effects which have already been deſcribed, encouraging the firm and manly virtues, both by the enthuſiaſm with which their precepts were conveyed, and by the lively impreſſions which they gave of thoſe objects for which it is important to contend. The courage depending on blood and nerves is uncertain and tranſitory in its exiſtence; and even while it exiſts, may be indifferently employed to purpoſes beneficial or deſtructive. It belonged to the martial

59 The word is ἀρετης in the original; but here means the reward of virtue. Vid. Herodot. l. viii. c. 26.

bards

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bards to determine its doubtful nature, to fix and illuſtrate its genuine motives, and to direct it to the proper objects of its purſuit.

They infuſed a proper mixture of ſoftneſs and ſenſibility into the Grecian character.

The muſical entertainments thus ſtrengthened, refined, and exalted the manly principles inſpired by all the cuſtoms and inſtitutions of that warlike age. But as bravery is a hardy plant that grows in every ſoil, the moſt beneficial conſequence of the arts conſiſted in infuſing a proper mixture of ſoftneſs and ſenſibility into the Grecian character. This is well known to be their effect in every country where they are allowed to flouriſh[60]. The Greeks, in a peculiar manner, required their aſſiſtance; nor could it have been poſſible for that people, without the happy influence of the arts, to control the barbarity naturally occaſioned by their conſtant employment in war, the ſavage cruelty introduced by the practice of domeſtic ſervitude, and that unrelenting ferocity of character which ſeems eſſentially inherent in the nature of democratical government. Amidſt theſe ſources of degeneracy and corruption, the time and application neceſſary to attain proficiency in the purſuits of genius, habituated the Greeks to gentle amuſements and innocent pleaſures. The honours and rewards beſtowed on the ſucceſsful candidates for literary fame, engaged them to ſeek happineſs and glory in the peaceful ſhade of retirement, as well as on the contentious theatre of active life; and the obſervations and diſcoveries occaſionally ſug-

Their effects on moral principle,

[60] Ingenuas didiciſſe fideliter artes,
Emollit mores, nec ſinit eſſe feros.

geſted

geſted by the free communication of ſentiment, ſtrengthened and confirmed thoſe happy prejudices which combat on the ſide of virtue, and enforce the practice of ſuch rules of behaviour as are moſt uſeful and agreeable in ſociety. CHAP. VI.

If the muſical and literary entertainments acquired ſuch an happy influence over the moral diſpoſitions of the heart, they produced a ſtill more conſiderable effect on the intellectual faculties of the mind. It is almoſt impoſſible, in the preſent age, to conceive the full extent of their efficacy in improving the memory, animating the imagination, and correcting the judgment. As to the memory, indeed, there is a period in the progreſs of ſociety preceding the introduction of writing, when the energies of this faculty have been exerted among many nations with a wonderful degree of force. Even among the barbarous Celtic inhabitants of our own iſland, the Druids could repeat an incredible number of verſes, containing the knowledge of their hiſtory, laws, and religion; and a period of twenty years was required to complete the poetical ſtudies of a candidate for the prieſthood [61]. and on the intellectual powers,

But if the Greeks were equalled by other nations in the exerciſe of the memory, they have always been unrivalled in the delicacy of their taſte, and the inimitable charms of their fancy. Theſe excellencies, whether originally produced by natural or moral cauſes, or more probably by a combina- prepared the Greeks for their high attainments in eloquence and philoſophy.

[61] Cæſar, de bello Gallico, l. vi.

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tion of both, were, doubtleſs, extended and improved by emulation and habitual exerciſe. To this exerciſe the public ſolemnities afforded a proper field; and, in the conteſts of muſic and poetry, were diſplayed the opening bloſſoms of Grecian genius, bloſſoms which afterwards ripened into thoſe fruits of philoſophy and eloquence, that will form the admiration and delight of the laſt ages of the world.

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State of the Grecian Colonies.—The Ionians flouriſh in Arts and Arms.—Their Wars with the Lydians.—The Aſiatic Greeks ſubdued by Crœſus.—Splendour of the Lydian Court.—Foundation of the Perſian Monarchy.—Cauſes of its rapid Grandeur—Which alarms Crœſus.—His Alliance with the Lacedæmonians.—He invades the Perſian Dominions.—Meaſures of his Allies.—Crœſus defeated by Cyrus.—End of the Lydian Monarchy.

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State of the Greek colonies in Europe and Africa. Olymp. xx. 1. A.C. 700.

ABOVE two thouſand years have elapſed ſince it was obſerved, to the honour of Europe, that a handful of Greeks, having eſtabliſhed themſelves in Aſia and Africa, continually maintained and extended their poſſeſſions in thoſe quarters of the world[1]. Wherever the ſpirit of enterpriſe diffuſed their ſettlements, they perceived, it is ſaid, on the ſlighteſt compariſon, the ſuperiority of their own religion, language, inſtitutions, and manners; and the dignity of their character and ſentiments eminently diſtinguiſhed them from the general maſs of nations whoſe territories they invaded, and whom they juſtly denominated Barbarians[2]. Yet theſe honourable ad-

[1] Hippocrat. vol. i. p. 350. Edit. Lugdun. 1763.
[2] Iſocrat. Panegyr. paſſim.

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vantages, inſtead of conciliating good-will, tended only to exaſperate hoſtility. The northern Greeks were perpetually haraſſed by the fierce inroads of the Thracians: the ſouthern were endangered by the united ſtrength of Egypt and Lybia. The colonies in Magna Græcia having eaſily reſiſted the rude, though warlike natives of that country, were called to contend with the more formidable power of Carthage. But the conſequences of all theſe wars, which ſhall be deſcribed in due time, extended not beyond the countries in which they firſt aroſe. The memorable conflict between the Greek colonies in the Eaſt, and the great nations of Aſia, forms a ſubject more vaſt and more intereſting. Not confined to the extremities, it reached and ſhook the centre of Greece. It recoiled with more deſtructive violence on Perſia; its duration comprehends the moſt illuſtrious period in the hiſtory of both countries; and its extent embraces all the great nations of antiquity, together with the ſcattered communities of Grecian extraction in every part of the world.

State of the Greek colonies in Aſia.

In the third century after their eſtabliſhment in the eaſt, and above ſeven hundred years before the Chriſtian æra, the Greeks of Aſia, and particularly the Ionians, far ſurpaſſed their European anceſtors in ſplendor and proſperity[3]. While ancient Greece was haraſſed by inteſtine diſſenſions, and its northern frontier expoſed to the hoſtility of neighbouring Barbarians, the Eaſtern colonies en-

3 Herodot. paſſim. Plin. l. v. & Senec. ad Helv.

joyed

joyed profound peace, and flouriſhed in the vicinity of Phrygia and Lydia, the beſt cultivated and moſt wealthy provinces of Lower Aſia[4], and perhaps of the ancient world. Hiſtory and poetry alike extol the golden treaſures of the Phrygian and Lydian kings[5]. Their ſubjects wrought mines of gold, melted the ore, moulded figures in bronze, dyed wool, cultivated muſic, enjoyed the amuſements of leiſure, and indulged the demands of luxury[6], when the neighbouring countries of Cappadocia and Armenia remained equally ignorant of laws and arts, and when the Medes and Perſians, deſtined ſucceſſively to obtain the empire of Aſia, lived in ſcattered villages, ſubſiſted by hunting, paſturage, or robbery, and were clothed with the ſkins of wild beaſts[7].

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Yet the Lydians and Phrygians, ſatisfied with their domeſtic advantages, ſeem never to have directed their attention towards foreign commerce[8]. When the voluptuouſneſs or oſtentation of their kings and nobility made them covet the

They engroſs the commerce of Lydia, Phrygia, and Egypt.

4 Strabo, l. xii. & l. xiii.

5 Idem, p. 628 & 621. Edit. Paris.

6 Herodot. l. i. c. xciv. Plin. l. vi. c. lvi.

7 Herodot. l. i. c. lxxi.

8 The Lydians and Phrygians are mentioned, in Caſtor's Epochs, among the ſeventeen nations, who, according to that careleſs and ignorant compiler, ſucceſſively became maſters of the Mediterranean ſea; but the extravagant dreams of this fabulous writer are at variance with the whole tenor of ancient hiſtory. It is extraordinary that thoſe who ever looked into Herodotus ſhould pay any regard to the unwarranted aſſertions of Caſtor; yet this fabuliſt has been generally followed by modern chronologers and compilers. See BLAIR's Tables, &c.

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conveniencies and luxuries of diſtant countries, they were contented to owe theſe new gratifications, firſt to the Phœnician merchants, and afterwards to the Greek ſettlements eſtabliſhed on their coaſts. Through the ſupine neglect of their neighbours reſpecting maritime affairs, the Aſiatic Greeks acquired without conteſt, and enjoyed without moleſtation, beſides ſeveral valuable iſlands, the whole weſtern coaſt of the continent, extending, in a waving line, above ſix hundred miles in length, beautifully diverſified by hill and dale, interſected by rivers, broken by bays and promontories, and adorned by the nobleſt proſpects and fineſt climate in the world. The face of that delightful country will be more particularly deſcribed, when it becomes the unhappy ſcene of military operations. It is ſufficient at preſent to obſerve, that its Ionian inhabitants, poſſeſſing the mouths of great rivers, having convenient and capacious harbours before them, and behind, the wealthy and populous nations of Aſia, whoſe commerce they enjoyed and engroſſed, attained ſuch early and rapid proficiency in the arts of navigation and traffic, as raiſed the cities of Miletus[9], Colophon[10], and Phocæa[11], to an extraordinary pitch of opulence and grandeur. Their population increaſing with their proſperity, they diffuſed new colonies every where around

9 Athenæus, l. xii. p. 523. Comparing their ancient and actual ſtate, the Greek proverb ſaid, Παλαι ποτε ησαν αλκιμοι Μιλησιοι: Once, but long ago, the Mileſians were powerful.

10 Athen. l. xiv. p. 643.

11 Strabo, p. 582. & p. 647. Herodot. l. iv. c. clii.

them.

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them. Having obtained footing in Egypt[12], in the eighth century before Chriſt, they acquired, and thenceforth preſerved, the excluſive commerce of that ancient and powerful kingdom. Their territories, though in their greateſt breadth compreſſed between the ſea and the dominions of Lydia to the extent of ſcarce forty miles, became not only flouriſhing in peace, but formidable in war[13], and bore ſomething of a ſimilar relation to the powerful kingdoms of Egypt, Lydia, and Aſſyria, which had hitherto ſwayed the politics of the ancient world, that the ſmall but induſtrious republics of Italy had to the reſt of Europe in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; or, to deſcribe their condition ſtill more exactly, that the Netherlands, three hundred years ago, had to the extenſive countries of France, England, and Germany.

Improved the arts which they had learned in thoſe countries.

Such multiplied advantages could not languiſh in the hands of men, who, as we ſhall ſoon learn from their hiſtory, had genius to conceive, and courage to execute, the moſt arduous deſigns. With the utmoſt induſtry and perſeverance they improved and ennobled the uſeful or elegant arts, which they found already practiſed among the Phrygians and Lydians. They incorporated the muſic of thoſe nations with their own. Their poetry, as above deſcribed, far excelled whatever Pagan antiquity could boaſt moſt precious[14]. They

[12] Herodot. l. ii. c. cxxxii.

[13] Idem, ibid. & Ariſtot. de Civitat. l. iv. c. iv.

[14] See Chap. vi.

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rivalled the ſkill of their neighbours in moulding clay, and caſting braſs. They appear to have been the firſt people who made ſtatues of marble. The Doric and Ionic orders of architecture perpetuate, in their names, the honour of their inventors. Painting was firſt reduced to rule, and practiſed with ſucceſs among the Greeks; and we may be aſſured that, during the ſeventh century before Chriſt, the Ionians ſurpaſſed all their neighbours, and even the Phœnicians, in the arts of deſign, ſince the magnificent preſents which the far-famed oracle of Delphi received from the oſtentation or piety of the Lydian kings, were chiefly the productions of Ionian artiſts[15]. In the following century Ionia gave birth to philoſophy; and we ſhall have occaſion to explain hereafter by what means both ſcience and taſte were diffuſed from that country over Greece, Italy and Sicily. But our preſent ſubject recals us from the hiſtory of arts to that of arms.

Invent others peculiar to themſelves.

Ineurſion of the Cimmerians.

The firſt formidable enemies with whom the Aſiatic Greeks had to contend, were the barbarous Cimmerians[16], who, being driven from the banks of the Euxine, by a Scythian horde ſtill fiercer than themſelves, overflowed, with irreſiſtible violence, the fineſt provinces of Aſia Minor. But

15 Herodot. l. i.

16 Strabo, p. 292, ſays, that the Cimmerians were called Cimbri by the Romans. He ſpeaks frequently of them, particularly p. 108. 193. 292. 494. Their impetuous and deſtructive incurſions are well expreſſed by the elegiac poet Callinus, cited in Strabo, p. 648.

Νυν δ' επι Κιμμεριων γρατος ερχεται ομβιμοιεγων.

the

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the invaſion of the Cimmerians is deſcribed as a predatory incurſion[17], not as a regular plan of enterpriſe directed to the purpoſes of conqueſt and ſettlement. The hurricane ſoon ſpent its force; the Greeks recovered from the terror inſpired by theſe deſultory ravagers, and, within a few years after their departure, the Ionian and Eolian colonies, who ſeem to have carried their ancient enmity into their new acquiſitions, totally forgot their recent and common danger, and engaged in cruel domeſtic wars.

Domeſtic diſſenſions,

Theſe unnatural diſſenſions were repreſſed by the growing power of the Lydians, which extending itſelf on all ſides, finally reduced the greateſt part of Leſſer Aſia, a country once affording the materials of many rich and flouriſhing kingdoms, but now reduced to beggary and barbariſm under the oppreſſive yoke of Turkiſh tyranny. The territory of Lydia, which extended its name with its authority from the river Halys to the Ægean, and from the ſouthern ſhore of the Euxine to the northern coaſt of the Mediterranean, was anciently confined to that delightful diſtrict ſituate at the back of Ionia, watered on the north by the river Pactolus, famous for the golden particles[18] intermixed with its ſand, and on the ſouth by Cayſter, whoſe banks, frequented by ſwans, have afforded one of the moſt beautiful compariſons in the

interrupted by the growth of the Lydian power. Olymp. xv. 3. A. C. 718.

[17] Ου καταστροφη εγενετο των πολιων αλλα εξ επιδρομης ἁρπαγη. HERODOT.

[18] They were waſhed down from Mount Tmolus, the gold of which was exhauſted in the time of Strabo. Vid. Strabo, l. xiii.

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Iliad [19]. The kingdom of Lydia was anciently ſubject to a race of princes [20], ſtyled Atyatidæ, from the heroic Atys, the great founder of their houſe. To the family of Atys ſucceeded that of Hercules, which had obtained the government before the war of Troy, and continued to reign five hundred and five years, till their honours expired in the unhappy Candaules. The ſtory of Candaules, of his beautiful wife, and of his fortunate ſervant, has been adorned by the father of hiſtory with the inimitable charms of his Ionic fancy. The vain, credulous prince, injudiciouſly diſplaying the beauty, offended the modeſty, of his injured ſpouſe, Gyges [21], the moſt favoured of her huſband's attendants, to whom his weak maſter had proſtituted the ſight of her naked charms, was involuntarily employed as the inſtrument of her reſentment. As a reward for taking away the life of Candaules, he was honoured with the hand of the queen, and from the rank of captain of the guards, advanced to the throne of Lydia.

Gyges makes war on the Ionians.

This revolution, which happened ſeven hundred and eighteen years before Chriſt, was felt by the neighbouring nations, who ſoon diſcovered in the

[19] Καυστριω αμφι ρεεθρα, &c. Iliad ii. ver. 460. and Pope, ver. 540.

[20] Herodotus, l. i. throughout, and Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, l. i. c. 27. & ſeq. furniſh the principal materials for the hiſtory of Lydia.

[21] Herodotus was unacquainted with the wonderful ſtory of Gyges's ring, which had the power of rendering him inviſible; by means of which he was enabled to kill his maſter, and uſurp his throne. Plato, l. ii. de Repub.

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enterpriſing character of Gyges, the difference between adventurers who acquire, and princes who inherit, a crown. The Ionian cities of Aſia offered a tempting prize to the valour of Gyges, and the valuable mines[22] diſcovered between the cities Atarneus and Pergamos, as well as the gold obtained from the river Pactolus[23], enabled him to hire ſuch a number of troops as ſeemed neceſſary to accompliſh his ambitious deſigns. The citizens of Miletus and Smyrna were haraſſed by a long war; but of all the Ionic ſettlements, Colophon alone ſubmitted to his arms.

Takes Colophon. Olymp. xxv. 1. A. C. 680.

Ardys his ſucceſſor, following the military example of Gyges, ſtormed the city of Priené, and invaded the territories of the Mileſians. He tranſmitted his enmity againſt that people to his ſon Sadyattes, from whom it deſcended to his more warlike grandſon. Alyattes, grandſon of Ardys, annually invaded the country of Miletus, cut down the trees, burnt the ſtanding corn, ravaged and deſolated the whole territory. The houſes he allowed to remain entire, that the Mileſians, governed by that powerful attachment which binds men to their ancient habitations, might return thither after his departure, and again apply to the ſowing and cultivation of the ground, the fruits of which he was determined next harveſt

The war continued by his ſucceſſors. Olymp. xl. 2. A. C. 619.

[22] Strabo, l. xiii. p. 625.

[23] Strabo, p. 680. The wealth of Gyges was proverbial in the time of Anacreon:

Ου μοι μελει Γυγαο
Τυ Σαρδιων αναχτος, &c.

to

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to deſtroy. In this manner he continued, during eleven years, to haraſs, but was unable to conquer, the Mileſians. The inhabitants of the country retired at his approach, and ſhut themſelves up in their capital, the walls of which bid defiance to his aſſaults; nor was it poſſible to reduce by blockade a city that had long been, and ſtill continued, miſtreſs of the ſea. But Alyattes perſiſted in diſtreſſing thoſe whom it ſeemed impoſſible to ſubdue; and he was carrying on his twelfth autumnal incurſion with fire and ſword, when an unforeſeen accident occaſioned a ſpeedy termination of the war.

An unforeſeen event puts an end to the war. Olymp. xliii. 2. A. C. 607.

The beautiful territory of Miletus was, according to annual cuſtom, thrown into a blaze, and the flames of the ſtanding corn, impelled by the violence of the wind, communicated with the temple of Aſſeſian Minerva. That ſacred edifice was burnt to the ground. Alyattes, who was attended on his march by pipes, harps, and flutes, adapted to the voice both of men and of women, did not immediately conſider, amidſt the noiſe of feſtivity, and the parade of military triumph, the fatal conſequences of this enormous impiety. But falling ſick ſoon after at Sardis, he had leiſure, during the quiet and ſolitude of his diſtemper, to reflect on the horror of his crime; and prying into futurity with that anxious ſolicitude which uſually attends guilt, he diſpatched meſſengers to the temple of Delphi, to conſult the Grecian god concerning the means of mitigating the diſtreſs of his preſent ſtate of mind. Apollo refuſed giving an anſwer to his

his petition, until he had rebuilt the temple of Minerva. The Lydian prepared to comply with this condition, and immediately ſent ambaſſadors to Miletus, to propoſe a ſuſpenſion of arms, until the great work ſhould be completed. That city was then governed by Thraſybulus, who, by one of thoſe revolutions not unfrequent in the Grecian republics, had attained the rank of tyrant [24], as it was then called, in a ſtate uſually governed as a democratical community. Similarity of views and diſpoſitions had introduced a friendly connection between Thraſybulus and the celebrated Periander of Corinth, who was no ſooner acquainted with the advice of Apollo, than he ſent immediate intimation of it to the Mileſian prince, counſelling him at the ſame time to avail himſelf of the preſent conjuncture to promote the intereſt of his country. In compliance with this advice, Thraſybulus employed an expedient equally ſingular and ſucceſsful. When the Lydian ambaſſadors arrived at Miletus, they expected to behold a city in diſtreſs, not only deſtitute of the accommodations and luxuries, but ill provided with the chief neceſſaries of life. But their ſurpriſe was extreme, to obſerve vaſt magazines of corn open to public view, to perceive an extraordinary abundance of

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[24] In the ſtrict ſenſe, τυραννος means him who has acquired ſovereignty in a free republic. The word has no relation to the abuſe of power, as in the modern acceptation. Thraſybulus of Miletus, Periander of Corinth, Piſiſtratus of Athens, Polycrates of Samos, Alexander of Pheræ, and Dionyſius of Syracuſe, were all called τυραννοι, though their characters were as widely different as thoſe of Titus and Domitian, the extremes of virtue and vice.

all

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all other fruits of the ground; and to behold the inhabitants revelling in fulneſs and feſtivity, as if their country had never ſuffered the cruel ravages of an invader. This appearance of eaſe and plenty was exhibited by the contrivance of Thraſybulus, by whoſe command the corn and other proviſions had been carried from private magazines into the ſtreet, that the Lydians, returning to Sardis, the uſual reſidence of their prince, might acquaint him with the proſperous condition of a people, whom it had been the great object of his reign to afflict and to annoy. Alyattes was much affected by the intelligence, and at length conſented to a peace with the Mileſians on honourable terms. To compenſate for his paſt injuries and impiety, he promiſed to dedicate to Minerva two new edifices, the magnificence of which ſhould far eclipſe the ſplendor of her ancient temple. The promiſe was performed, the new temples were conſecrated, Alyattes recovered from his diſtemper, and peace ſubſiſted for a ſhort time between the two nations.

Happy reign of Alyattes.

The long reign of Alyattes, which, if we may credit the doubtful evidence of ancient authors in matters of chronology, laſted fifty-two years after the treaty with Miletus, was not chequered with any great variety of fortune. He conquered, indeed, the city and ſmall territory of Smyrna, a Grecian ſettlement then in its infancy, but which was deſtined afterwards to become, by its happy ſituation for commerce, the moſt wealthy and populous eſtabliſhment in thoſe parts, and to be ſtyled,

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ſtyled, in the pompous language of inſcription, the ornament of Ionia, the firſt and chief city of the Aſiatic coaſt [25]. His arms were equally ſucceſsful in repelling the deſtructive invaſions of the Scythian hordes, who ravaged the northern parts of his dominions, and in reſiſting the dangerous ambition of the Medes, the moſt powerful nation of Upper Aſia. Satisfied with theſe advantages, Alyattes became unwilling to commit his future fortune to the viciſſitudes of war. Fixed in this purpoſe, he ſpent his remaining days amidſt the happineſs of his wealth and grandeur, in contemplating the various ſtages of his proſperity, in liſtening to the flattery of his courtiers, in receiving the grateful homage of his ſubjects, and in enjoying that pomp and pleaſure which uſually ſurround an eaſtern throne.

The war renewed by Croeſus; Olymp. liv. 3. A. C. 562.

This fortunate prince was ſucceeded, five hundred and ſixty-two years before Chriſt, by his ſon Croeſus, whoſe uninterrupted proſperity, in the firſt years of his reign, far eclipſed the glory of all his predeceſſors. But the ſplendor of Croeſus was that of a paſſing meteor, which dazzles for a moment, and diſappears for ever. Of all the kings of Lydia, he was the greateſt conqueror, but he was alſo the laſt king of that country [26], as well as the laſt prince of his family. Under various unjuſt pretences he attacked the Grecian cities of Aſia Minor, which being undiſturbed by foreign war,

[25] Marm. Oxon.

[26] Lydia deſcended to the rank of a province, as will appear below.

had

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had unfortunately engaged in domeſtic diſſenſions. While jealouſy hindered the Greeks, ignorance prevented the Barbarians, from forming a confederacy ſufficient to reſiſt the Lydian power. The Carians, Myſians, and Phrygians, fighting ſingly, were ſucceſſively ſubdued; and the whole peninſula of Leſſer Aſia (except only the little territory of the Lycians and Cilicians), extending eaſtward as far as the river Halys, and inhabited by three nations of Grecian, and eleven of Barbarian extraction [27], finally acknowledged the power of Crœſus, and tamely received his commands.

who ſubdues the Aſiatic Greeks, as well as the neighbouring nations.

Having met with ſuch extraordinary ſucceſs by land, the Lydian prince determined to render his power equally conſpicuous by ſea. For this purpoſe he thought ſeriouſly of equipping a fleet, with which he purpoſed to invade and conquer the Grecian iſlands directly fronting his dominions. But this deſign, which, conſidering the ſlow progreſs in maritime power among the nations moſt diligent to attain it, would probably have failed of ſucceſs, was prevented by the advice of a philoſophical traveller, conveyed in ſuch a lively turn of wit, as eaſily changed the reſolution of the king. Bias of Prienè, in Ionia, ſome ſay Pittacus of Mitylenè, in the iſle of Leſbos, while he travelled, after the Grecian cuſtom, from curioſity and a love of knowledge, was preſented to Crœſus at the Lydian court; and being aſked by that prince,

He is diverted from his deſign of raiſing a naval power.

[27] The Phrygians, Myſians, Mariandynians, Chalybians, Lydians, Paphlagonians, Thracians, Bithynians, Carians, and Pamphylians.

what

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what news from Greece? he anſwered with a republican freedom, that the iſlanders had collected powerful ſquadrons of cavalry, with an intention of invading Lydia. "May the gods grant," ſaid Crœſus, "that the Greeks, who are unacquainted "with horſemanſhip, ſhould attack the diſ- "ciplined valour of the Lydian cavalry; there "would ſoon be an end to the conteſt." "In "the ſame manner," replied Bias, "as if the "Lydians, who are totally unexperienced in naval "affairs, ſhould invade the Grecians by ſea." Struck by the acuteneſs of this unexpected obſervation, Crœſus deſiſted from his intended expedition againſt the iſlands; and inſtead of employing new means for extending his conqueſts, determined peaceably to enjoy the laurels which he had won, and to diſplay the grandeur which he had attained.

The ſplendor of Crœſus's court.

His court was the gayeſt and moſt ſplendid of any in that age; and the Aſiatic Greeks, whatever diſhonour they incurred, ſuſtained not, perhaps, any real loſs by their eaſy ſubmiſſion to a vain and weak man, but a magnificent and liberal prince [28], who was extremely partial to their country. They acknowledged the conqueror, indeed, by a very moderate tribute, but they enjoyed their ancient

[28] Such is the character which reſults from conſidering the conduct of Crœſus. The tranſactions of his reign will not warrant our adopting the admirable panegyric of him by Pindar (Pyth. i.):

Ου φθονησε Κροισω φιλοφρων αρετη, &c.
He was taught wiſdom late, and only by adverſity.

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laws, and adminiſtered without control their domeſtic concerns and government[29]. Crœſus ſpoke their language, encouraged their arts, admired their poets and *ſophiſts*. Ionia, perhaps, was never more happy than under the eye of this indulgent maſter, whoſe protection nouriſhed the tender ſhoot of philoſophy, which had begun to ſpring up ſhortly before his reign. Thales of Miletus, Pittacus of Mitylenè, Bias of Prienè, Cleobulus of Lindus, and the other wiſe men, as they are emphatically ſtyled, who lived in that age, not only gave advice and aſſiſtance to their countrymen in particular emergencies, but reſtrained their vices by wholeſome laws, improved their manners by uſeful leſſons of morality, and extended their knowledge by important and difficult diſcoveries. We ſhall have occaſion hereafter to conſider more fully the improvements made by thoſe ancient ſages, who are ſaid to have maintained a correſpondence with each other, as well as with Chilon of Sparta, Periander of Corinth, and Solon of Athens, men who acquired ſuch reputation by their practical wiſdom, as rendered them the oracles of their reſpective countries. Moſt of theſe, as well as Æſop the fabuliſt, and the elegant Greek poets of the times, were bountifully received at the court of Crœſus. There is ſtill on record a memorable converſation between that prince and Solon, which ſeemed to predict the ſubſequent events of his reign, and which had a late, but important influence on the character and fortune of the Lydian king.

Condition of the Aſiatic Greeks under his government.

[30]

[29] Herodot. [30] Thucydid.

Crœſus

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His converſation with Solon.

Crœſus having entertained his Athenian gueſt, according to the ancient faſhion, for ſeveral days, before he aſked him any queſtions, oſtentatiouſly ſhewed him the magnificence of his palace, and particularly the riches of his treaſury. After all had been diſplayed to the beſt advantage, the king complimented Solon upon his curioſity and love of knowledge; and aſked him, as a man who had ſeen many countries, and reflected with much patience upon what he had ſeen, whom of all men he eſteemed moſt happy? By the particular occaſion, as well as the triumphant air with which the queſtion was propoſed, the king made it evident that he expected flattery rather than information. But Solon's character had not been enervated by the debilitating air of a court, and he replied with a manly freedom; "Tellus, the Athenian." Crœſus, who had ſcarcely learned to diſtinguiſh, even in imagination, between wealth and happineſs, enquired with a tone of ſurpriſe, why this preference to Tellus? "Tellus," rejoined Solon, "was not conſpicuous for his riches, or his grandeur, being only a ſimple citizen of Athens; but he was deſcended from parents who deſerved the firſt honours of the republic. He was equally fortunate in his children, who obtained univerſal eſteem by their probity, patriotiſm, and every uſeful quality of the mind or body; and as to himſelf, he died fighting gallantly in the ſervice of his country, which his valour rendered victorious in a doubtful combat; on which account the Athenians buried him on the ſpot where he fell, and

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diſtinguiſhed him by every honour which public gratitude can confer on illuſtrious merit."

Crœſus had little encouragement, after this anſwer, to aſk Solon, in the ſecond place, whom, next to Tellus, he deemed moſt happy? Such, however, is the illuſion of vanity, that he ſtill ventured to make this demand; and ſtill, as we are informed by the moſt circumſtantial of hiſtorians, entertained hopes of being favourably anſwered. But Solon replied with the ſame freedom as before, "The brothers Cleobis and Biton; two youths of Argos, whoſe ſtrength and addreſs were crowned with repeated victory at the Olympic games; who deſerved the affection of their parents, the gratitude of their country, the admiration of Greece; and who, having ended their lives with peculiar felicity [31], were commemorated by the moſt ſignal monuments of immortal fame." "And is the happineſs of a king, then," ſaid Crœſus, "ſo little regarded, O Grecian ſtranger! that you prefer to it the mean condition of an Athenian or Argive citizen?" The reply of Solon juſtified his reputation for wiſdom. "The life of man," ſaid he, "conſiſts of ſeventy years, which make twenty-ſix thouſand two hundred and fifty days; an immenſe number, yet in the longeſt life, the events of any one day will not be found exactly alike to thoſe of another. The affairs of men are liable to perpetual viciſſitudes; the Divinity who preſides over our fate is envious

[31] Τελευτη τȣ βιȣ αριστη επιγενετο. Herodot. l. i. c. 31.

of

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of too much proſperity; and all human life, if not condemned to calamity, is at leaſt liable to accident[32]. Whoever has uninterruptedly enjoyed a proſperous tide of ſucceſs may juſtly be called fortunate; but he cannot before his death be entitled to the epithet of happy."

Crœſus affected by the loſs of his ſon Atys.

The events which ſoon followed this converſation, prove how little ſatisfaction is derived from the poſſeſſion of a throne. Victorious in war, unrivalled in wealth, ſupreme in power, Crœſus felt and acknowledged his unhappineſs. The warmeſt affections of his ſoul centered in his ſon Atys, a youth of the moſt promiſing hopes, who had often fought and conquered by his ſide. The ſtrength of his attachment was accompanied with an exceſs of paternal care, and the anxiety of his waking hours diſturbed the tranquillity of his reſt. He dreamt that his beloved ſon was ſlain by a dart; and the ſolicitude with which he watched his ſafety, preventing the youth from his uſual occupations and amuſements, and thereby rendering him too eager to enjoy them, moſt probably expoſed him to the much-dreaded misfortune. Reluctantly permitted to engage in a party of hunting, the juvenile ardour of Atys, encreaſed by the impatience of long reſtraint, made him neglect the precautions neceſſary in that manly amuſement. He was ſlain by a dart, aimed at a wild boar of monſtrous ſize, which had long ſpread terror over the

32 Ουτω ων ω Κροισε πας εστι ανθρωπος συμφορη. The laſt word is improperly explained in all the tranſlations that I have met with.

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country of the Myſians. The weapon came from the hand of Adraſtus, a Phrygian prince and fugitive, whom Crœſus had purified from the involuntary guilt of a brother's blood, and long diſtinguiſhed by peculiar marks of bounty. To the grateful protection of the Phrygian, Crœſus recommended, at parting, the ſafety of his beloved ſon. A mournful proceſſion of Lydians brought to Sardis the dead body of Atys. The ill-fated murderer followed behind. When they approached the royal preſence, Adraſtus ſtepped forward, and intreated Crœſus to put him to death; thinking life no longer to be endured after killing, firſt his own brother, and then the ſon of his benefactor. But the Lydian king, notwithſtanding the exceſs of his affliction, acknowledged the innocence of Adraſtus, and the power of fate. "Stranger, your action "is blameleſs, being committed without deſign. "I know that my ſon was deſtined to a premature "death." Adraſtus, though pardoned by Crœſus, could not pardon himſelf. When the mourners were removed, he privately returned, and periſhed by his own hand on the tomb of Atys.

Roused from his inactivity by the growing power of Perſia.

Two years Crœſus remained diſconſolate for the loſs of his ſon, and might have continued to indulge his unavailing affliction during the remainder of life, had not the growing greatneſs of Perſia, which threatened the ſafety of his dominions, roused him from his dream of miſery. That country was anciently confined to a ſmall part of the immenſe region at preſent known by the Perſian name. Its inhabitants had recently become formidable, and

in

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in the courſe of a few years, under the elder Cyrus, they extended their name and conqueſts over Upper Aſia, overturned the power of Crœſus, enſlaved the Greeks of Aſia Minor, and, for the firſt time, threatened Europe with the terrors of Aſiatic deſpotiſm. This memorable revolution deſerves not only to be examined in its conſequences, but traced to its ſource, becauſe the Grecian wars and tranſactions, during the ſpace of above two centuries, with the Perſian empire, form an important object of attention in the preſent hiſtory.

The revolutions in Upper Aſia, till the eſtabliſhment of the Perſian empire.

The firſt Aſſyrian monarchy extended its dominion in Upper Aſia, from the northern deſerts of Scythia, to the Southern or Indian Ocean. On the weſt it was ſeparated by the river Halys from the dominions of Lydia. The river Indus formed its eaſtern boundary. The conquerors of the eaſt have aſſumed, in all ages, the title of King of Kings; a title expreſſive of the nature, as well as of the greatneſs, of their power. The various provinces which they conquered, though acknowledging their univerſal dependence on the emperor, were yet ſubject to their particular princes, who, while they paid their appointed tribute during peace, and furniſhed their contingent of troops in time of war, were permitted, in their ancient territories, to retain the power, and to diſplay the pomp, of royalty. This ſyſtem of government is more favourable to the extenſion than to the permanence of empire. The different members of this unwieldy body were ſo feebly connected with each other, that to ſecure their united ſubmiſſion

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required almoſt as much genius as to atchieve their conqueſt. When the ſpirit which animated the immenſe maſs was withdrawn, the different parts fell aſunder; revolutions were no leſs rapid than frequent; and, by one of thoſe events familiar in the hiſtory of the Eaſt, the warlike ſceptre of Ninus and Semiramis was wreſted from the effeminate hands of Sardanapulus. In the year ſeven hundred and forty-ſix before Chriſt, the provincial governors of Babylonia and Media, diſdaining to receive orders from this enervated ſhadow of their ancient lords, rejected his contemptible authority, and eſtabliſhed two new dynaſties, which, having governed Aſia for two centuries, were again reunited by the fortunate valour of Cyrus.

Extraction of Cyrus.

This extraordinary man, who raiſed the Perſian glory on the ruins of the Medes and Babylonians, was the ſon of Cambyſes, the tributary prince of Perſia: on the mother's ſide he derived a more honourable deſcent from Mandana, daughter of Aſtyages, the ſupreme lord of Media, and many kingdoms of the Eaſt. The powerful monarchy erected by Cyrus was diſtinguiſhed by the name of his native province, as the preceding empires had been denominated after the provinces of their reſpective conquerors, although all of them, comprehending the ſame nations, were bounded by nearly the ſame limits, Cyrus alone having extended his empire to the Grecian ſea.

Deſcription of Perſia.

The territory of Perſia, to the name of which we allude, is ſituate on the ſouthern frontiers of Media, and reaches to the Perſian gulph. The moun-

mountainous nature of the country renders it improper for cavalry, but it formerly produced a bold and hardy race of men, who, uncorrupted by the effeminacy of the Aſiatic plains, required only the directing genius of a commander to conduct them to war and victory. Such a commander they found in Cyrus, whoſe mind, burſting through the ſhackles impoſed on virtues and abilities by the manners and climate of the Eaſt [33], extended the name and conqueſts of Perſia from the Tigris to the Indus, and from the Caſpian Sea to the Ocean; a name which, after the revolution of ſo many ages and empires, is ſtill retained by that ſpacious region of the earth.

The early inſtitutions of that country embelliſhed by ancient hiſtorians.

As it is natural to account, by extraordinary cauſes, for extraordinary events, hiſtorians have aſcribed inſtitutions and cuſtoms to the Perſians worthy of rendering them the maſters of the world. The philoſophical Xenophon, embelliſhing and diſguiſing with wonderful art the moſt admired, and the moſt admirable, branches of Grecian diſcipline, has beſtowed them with too laviſh a generoſity on the founders of a nation, who became the unrelenting enemies of his country. But, notwithſtanding all the refinements of his ingenious and well-cultivated invention, it is not impoſſible to ſee through the laboured artifice of the diſguiſe; and, as truth only is conſiſtent, we may diſcern very material contradictions in the only remaining accounts of the ancient manners of the Perſians.

33 See his panegyric in Xenophon's Cyropædia, and in Æſchylus's Perſæ.

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Their early education conſiſted, if we may credit both Xenophon and Herodotus, in learning to manage the horſe, to ſhoot with the bow, and to ſpeak truth. Yet it is neceſſary to obſerve that the firſt of thoſe arts, how well ſoever it might be underſtood in later times by the Perſian nobility, muſt have been very little known to their anceſtors in the time of Cyrus. The craggy mountains which they inhabited were unfavourable to the rearing of horſes, and the poverty of their circumſtances was ill adapted to maintain them. While all the other nations of Upper Aſia, except the Scythians, fought on horſeback, the Perſian armies were compoſed chiefly of infantry: and when it is conſidered, that the Grecians under Alexander, the Romans under the republic, as well as the northern Barbarians who overran and ſubdued the countries of the eaſt and weſt, became maſters of the world chiefly through the firm intrepidity of their infantry, there is reaſon to aſſign, as the main cauſe of the Perſian conqueſts, not their acquaintance with horſemanſhip, but rather their ignorance of that art, which obliged them to employ the determined valour of foot ſoldiers againſt the deſultory aſſaults of horſemen. The Perſians were commonly armed with ſwords and lances, inſtead of bows and darts, the uſual weapons of the people of Aſia. This diſtinction was occaſioned by their want of cavalry. While their neighbours, truſting to the mettle and ſwiftneſs of their ſteeds, employed the harmleſs efforts of diſtant hoſtility, the Perſians fought hand to hand, each man buckling cloſely

Real cauſes of the Perſian grandeur.

cloſely to his foe. If defeated, they had no means of eſcape; but it was not to be expected that, practiſing ſuch a ſuperior ſtyle of war, under the conduct of an accompliſhed general, they ſhould ever meet with a defeat; and indeed Cyrus always proved victorious over the civilized nations of Aſia; nor was the career of his triumph interrupted, till contending againſt the barbarous Scythians, who joined the Perſian arms and diſcipline to their own irreſiſtible fury, he loſt at once his army and his life [34].

The reign of Cyrus. A. C. 559—529. His firſt conqueſts.

But before experiencing this fatal reverſe of fortune, he was deſtined, in the courſe of thirty years, to act a diſtinguiſhed part on the theatre of the world, which long retained the marks, and will always preſerve the memory, of his reign. Among the firſt conqueſts of Cyrus were the territories of Armenia and Chaldea, which had openly revolted againſt eſtabliſhed authority. If we believe Xenophon, Cyrus was ſent againſt theſe rebellious countries as the lieutenant of his grandfather Aſtyages, who from his palace in Ecbatan diffuſed his ſovereign mandates over many provinces of Upper Aſia. The relation of Herodotus makes it probable, that Cyrus had before this time aſſumed the government of Media, over which the cruelty, injuſtice, and ſuperſtitious fears of Aſtyages, rendered him unworthy to reign, even in the opinion of his moſt truſty ſubjects.

[34] In the hiſtory of Cyrus, the plain relation of Herodotus is to be preferred to the moral embelliſhments of Xenophon, except when the accounts of the latter are confirmed by the authority of ſcripture.

However

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Which alarm Crœſus. Olymp. lvi. 4. A. C. 549.

However that may be (for it affects not the deſign of the preſent narrative), it was natural to expect that the Perſian ſucceſs in Armenia, a province ſituate ſo near to the Lydian dominions, ſhould alarm the fears of Crœſus, and determine that prince to reſiſt the encroachments of a power which endangered the permanence of his own. In taking this reſolution, which might probably be attended with the moſt important conſequences, he was deſirous to learn the will of heaven concerning the iſſue of the war. The principal oracles which he conſulted were thoſe of Branchis in Ionia, of Hammon in Lybia, and of Delphi in Greece.

Crœſus conſults the oracle of Delphi.

Among theſe reſpected ſhrines, the oracle of Delphi maintained its aſcendant, as the moſt faithful interpreter of fate. Crœſus was fully perſuaded of its veracity; and deſirous generouſly to compenſate for the trouble which he had already given, and ſtill meant to give, the prieſts of Apollo, he ſacrificed three thouſand oxen to the god, and adorned his ſhrine with dedications, equally valuable for the workmanſhip and for the materials; precious veſſels of ſilver, ewers of iron beautifully inlaid and enamelled; various ornaments of pure gold, particularly a golden lion, weighing ten talents, and a female figure, three cubits, or near five feet high. In return for theſe magnificent preſents, the oracle, in ambiguous language, flattered Crœſus, with obtaining an eaſy victory over his enemies, and with enjoying a long life and a proſperous reign. The god at the ſame time enjoined him to contract an alliance with the moſt powerful of the Grecian ſtates.

Elevated

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Enters into an alliance with the Lacedæmonians. Olymp. lviii. 1. A. C. 548.

Elevated with theſe favourable predictions of Apollo, Crœſus prepared to yield a ready obedience to the only condition required on his part, for the accompliſhment of his aſpiring purpoſe. Not deeming himſelf ſufficiently acquainted with the affairs of Greece, to know what particular republic was meant by the oracle, he made particular enquiry of thoſe beſt informed concerning the ſtate of Europe, and diſcovered, that among all the members of the Grecian confederacy, the Athenians and Lacedæmonians were juſtly entitled to the pre-eminence. In order to learn which of theſe communities deſerved the epithet of moſt powerful, it was neceſſary to ſend ambaſſadors into Greece. The Lydians diſpatched with this important commiſſion ſoon diſcovered that the Athenians, after having been long haraſſed by internal diſſenſions, were actually governed by the tyrant Piſiſtratus. The Spartans, on the other hand, though anciently the worſt-regulated of all the Grecian communities, had enjoyed domeſtic peace and foreign proſperity, ever ſince they had adopted the wiſe inſtitutions of Lycurgus. After that memorable period, they had repeatedly conquered the warlike Argives, triumphed over the hardy Arcadians, and notwithſtanding the heroic exploits of Ariſtomenes, ſubdued and enſlaved their unfortunate rivals of Meſſené. To the Lydian ambaſſadors, therefore, the Spartan republic appeared to be pointed out by the oracle, as the community whoſe alliance they were enjoined to ſolicit. Having repaired accordingly to Sparta,

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they were introduced not only to the kings and ſenate, but, as the importance of the negociation required, to the general aſſembly of the Lacedæmonians, to whom they, in few words, declared the object of their commiſſion: "We are ſent, O Lacedæmonians! by Crœſus, king of the Lydians and of many other nations, who being commanded by the oracle of Apollo to ſeek the friendſhip of the moſt powerful people of Greece, now ſummons you, who juſtly merit that epithet, to become his faithful allies, in obedience to the will of the god whoſe authority you acknowledge." The Lacedæmonians, pleaſed with the alliance of a warlike king, and ſtill more with the fame of their valour, readily accepted the propoſal. To the ſtrict connection of an offenſive and defenſive league, they joined the more reſpected ties of ſacred hoſpitality. A few years before this tranſaction, they had ſent to purchaſe gold at Sardis, for making a ſtatue of Apollo. Crœſus had on that occaſion gratuitouſly ſupplied their want. Remembering this generoſity, they gave the Lydian ambaſſadors, at their departure, as a preſent for their maſter, a veſſel of braſs, containing three hundred amphoras (above twelve hogſheads), and beautifully carved on the outſide with various forms of animals.

His flattering proſpects.

Crœſus, having thus happily accompliſhed the deſign recommended by the oracle, was eager to ſet out upon his intended expedition. He had formerly entered into alliance with Amaſis king of Egypt, and Labynetus king of Babylon. He had now

now obtained the friendſhip of the moſt warlike nation of Europe. The newly-raiſed power of Cyrus and the Perſians ſeemed incapable of reſiſting ſuch a formidable confederacy.

He invades the Perſian teritories. Olymp. lviii. 1. A.C. 548.

Elevated with theſe flattering ideas of his own invincible greatneſs, Crœſus waited not to attack the Perſian dominions until he had collected the ſtrength of his allies. The ſanguine impetuoſity of his temper, unexperienced in adverſity, unfortunately precipitated him into meaſures no leſs ruinous than daring. Attended only by the arms of Lydia, and a numerous band of mercenaries, whom his immenſe wealth enabled him at any time to call into his ſervice, he marched towards the river Halys, and having croſſed, with much difficulty, that deep and broad ſtream, entered the province of Cappadocia, which formed the weſtern frontier of the Median dominions. That unfortunate country ſoon experienced all the calamities of invaſion. The Pterian plain, the moſt beautiful and the moſt fertile diſtrict of Cappadocia, was laid waſte; the ports of the Euxine, as well as ſeveral inland cities, were plundered; and the inoffenſive inhabitants were either put to the ſword, or dragged into captivity. Encouraged by the unreſiſting ſoftneſs of the natives of thoſe parts, Crœſus was eager to puſh forwards; and if Cyrus did not previouſly meet him in the field, he had determined to proceed in triumph to the mountains of Perſia. Againſt this dangerous reſolution he was in vain exhorted by a Lydian, named Sandanis, who, when aſked his opinion of the war,

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war, declared it with that freedom which the princes of the Eaſt have in every age permitted, amidſt all the pride and caprices of deſpotic power, to men diſtinguiſhed by the gifts of nature or education. "You are preparing, O king, to march againſt a people who lead a laborious and a miſerable life; whoſe daily ſubſiſtence is often denied them, and is always ſcanty and precarious; who drink only water, and who are clothed with the ſkins of wild beaſts. What can the Lydians gain by the conqueſt of Perſia; they who enjoy all the advantages of which the Perſians are deſtitute? For my part, I deem it a bleſſing of the gods, that they have not excited the warlike poverty of theſe miſerable Barbarians to invade and plunder the luxurious wealth of Lydia[35]." The moderation of this advice was rejected by the fatal preſumption of Crœſus, who confounding the dictates of experienced wiſdom with the mean ſuggeſtions of puſillanimity, diſmiſſed the counſellor with contempt.

Is defeated by Cyrus in Cappadocia.

Mean while, the approach of Cyrus, who was not of a temper to permit his dominions to be ravaged with impunity, afforded the Lydian king an opportunity of bringing the war to a more ſpeedy iſſue, than by his intended expedition into Perſia. The army of Cyrus gradually augmented on his march, the tributary princes cheerfully contributing with their united ſtrength towards the aſſiſtance of a maſter whoſe valour and generoſity they admired, and who now took arms to protect

35 Herodot. l. i. c. lxxi.

the

the ſafety of his ſubjects, as well as to ſupport the grandeur of his throne. Such was the rapidity of his movement, eſpecially after being informed of the deſtructive ravages of the enemy in Cappadocia, that he arrived from the ſhores of the Caſpian to thoſe of the Euxine Sea, before the army of Crœſus had provided the neceſſaries for their journey. That prince, when appriſed of the neighbourhood of the Perſians, encamped on the Pterian plain; Cyrus likewiſe encamped at no great diſtance; frequent ſkirmiſhes happened between the light troops; and at length a general engagement was fought with equal fury and perſeverance, and only terminated by the darkneſs of night. The loſs on both ſides hindered a renewal of the battle. The numbers, as well as the courage of the Perſians, much exceeded the expectation of Crœſus. As they diſcovered not any intention to haraſs his retreat, he determined to move back towards Sardis, to ſpend the winter in the amuſements of his palace, and after ſummoning his numerous allies to his ſtandard, to take the field early in the ſpring, with ſuch an increaſe of force as ſeemed ſufficient to overpower the Perſians [36].

The prudent conduct of Cyrus.

But this deſign was defeated by the careful vigilance of Cyrus. That experienced leader allowed the enemy to retire without moleſtation; carefully informing himſelf of every ſtep which they took, and of every meaſure which they ſeemed

[36] Herodot. l. i. c. lxxvii.

deter-

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determined to purſue. Patiently watching the opportunity of a juſt revenge, he waited until Crœſus had re-entered his capital, and had diſbanded the foreign mercenaries, who compoſed the moſt numerous diviſion of his army. It then ſeemed the proper time for Cyrus to put his Perſians in motion; and ſuch was his celerity, that he brought the firſt news of his own arrival in the plain of Sardis [37]. Crœſus, whoſe firmneſs might well have been ſhaken by the imminence of this unforeſeen danger, was not wanting, on the preſent occaſion, to the duties which he owed to his own fame, and the luſtre of the Lydian throne. Though his mercenaries were diſbanded, his own ſubjects, who ſerved him from attachment, who had been long accuſtomed to victory, and who were animated with a high ſenſe of national honour, burned with a deſire of enjoying an opportunity to check the daring inſolence of the invaders. Crœſus indulged and encouraged this generous ardour. The Lydians, in that age, fought on horſeback, armed with long ſpears; the ſtrength of the Perſians conſiſted in infantry. They were ſo little accuſtomed to the uſe of horſes, that camels were almoſt the only animals which they employed as beaſts of burden. This circumſtance ſuggeſted to a Mede, by name Harpagus, a ſtratagem, which, being communicated to Cyrus, was immediately adopted with approbation by that

37 Αυτος αγγελος Κροισω εληλυθει. "He came his own meſſenger to Crœſus."

prince.

prince [38]. Harpagus, having obſerved that horſes had a ſtrong averſion to the ſhape and ſmell of camels, adviſed the Perſian army to be drawn up in the following order: All the camels, which had been employed to carry baggage and proviſions, were collected into one body, arranged in a long line, fronting the Lydian cavalry. The foot ſoldiers of the Perſians were poſted immediately behind the line, and placed at a due diſtance. The Median horſe (for a few ſquadrons of theſe followed the ſtandard of Cyrus) formed the rear of the army. As the troops on both ſides approached to join battle, the Lydian cavalry, terrified at the unuſual appearance of the camels, mounted with men in arms, were thrown into diſorder, and turning their heads, endeavoured to eſcape from the field. Crœſus, who perceived the confuſion, was ready to deſpair of his fortune; but the Lydians, abandoning their horſes, prepared with uncommon bravery to attack the enemy on foot. Their courage deſerved a better fate; but unaccuſtomed as they were to this mode of fighting, they were received and repelled by the experienced valour of the Perſian infantry, and obliged to take refuge within the fortified ſtrength of Sardis, where they imagined themſelves ſecure. The walls of that city bid defiance to the rude art of attack, as then practiſed by the moſt warlike nations. If the Perſian army ſhould inveſt it, the Lydians were

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Defeats Crœſus in the plain of Sardis.

Crœſus ſhuts himſelf up in that city, and craves aſſiſtance from his Spartan allies.

[38] Herodot. l. i. c. lxxx.

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provided with proviſions for ſeveral years; and there was reaſon to expect, that in a few months, and even weeks, they would receive ſuch aſſiſtance from Egypt, Babylonia, and Greece (to which countries they had already ſent ambaſſadors), as would oblige the Perſians to raiſe the ſiege [39].

State of Sparta at that time.

The Lydian miniſters diſpatched into Greece met with great ſympathy from the Spartans. That people were particularly obſervant of the faith of treaties; and while they puniſhed their enemies with unexampled ſeverity, they behaved with generous compaſſion towards thoſe whom they had once accepted for allies. The benevolent principles of their nature were actually warmed and elevated by the triumph of a ſucceſsful expedition againſt the moſt formidable of their domeſtic foes. They had maintained a long and bloody war with the Argives, for the ſmall, but valuable diſtrict of Thyrea, lying on the frontiers of the rival ſtates. The Spartans at length obtained poſſeſſion of it; but the Argives advanced with an army more powerful than any that they had ever led into the field, in order to make good their ancient pretenſions. The wars of the Greeks were not merely undertaken from the dictates of intereſt and ambition, but conſidered as trials of ſkill, and conteſts of honour. When a conference, therefore, was propoſed, we know not by which of the parties, it was agreed, in order to prevent a greater effuſion of blood, that three hundred combatants on the

[39] Herodot. l. i. c. lxxx.

Spartan,

Spartan, and an equal number on the Argive ſide, ſhould determine, by the ſucceſs of their arms, the diſputed title to Thyrea, as well as the warlike pre-eminence of their reſpective republics. Three hundred champions being ſelected for this purpoſe from either army, it ſeemed neceſſary that the remainder of both nations ſhould retire; for the Argive and Spartan citizens, who felt with a republican ſenſibility for the intereſt of their communities, could not have remained tame ſpectators of the battle. The combatants fought with an obſtinate valour, of which there are few examples in hiſtory. Each ſoldier behaved as if the ſucceſs of the day had been committed to his ſingle ſpear; and each was eager to ſacrifice his own life to the preſervation of his country's fame. Theſe generous ſentiments were fully proved by the iſſue of the battle. At the approach of night, only three combatants ſurvived, two Argives, and the Spartan Othryades. The Argives, either through neglect or pity, ſpared the life of their ſingle opponent, and returned home with the melancholy tidings of their bloody victory. Othryades ſtill kept the field, collecting the ſpoil, and carrying into his own camp the arms of the enemy, which he erected into the uſual trophy of military ſucceſs. Next day the two armies, conſiſting of a great proportion of the citizens capable of bearing arms, arrived at the ſcene of action. The ſurpriſe of the Argives is not to be expreſſed, when they beheld the appearance of the field. Notwithſtanding the Spartan trophy, they ſtill inſiſted, that as *two* of

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Their victories over the Argives.

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their champions, and only *one* of the enemy's, had ſurvived, they were juſtly entitled to the glory of the day; but, ſeemingly with more reaſon, the Spartans maintained that this honour belonged to Othryades. From verbal altercation, carried on with that warmth which the importance of the diſpute naturally inſpired, they made an eaſy tranſition to acts of violence[40]. The conflict was long, fierce, and bloody; but the ſuperior diſcipline of Sparta finally prevailed. The Argives lamented their defeat, as the greateſt calamity that had ever befallen them. The inward feelings of their hearts were expreſſed by external demonſtrations of ſorrow. Like moſt of the Grecian nations, they had hitherto adorned their long hair, to increaſe the gracefulneſs of manly beauty, and to render their appearance more terrible to their enemies. But in remembrance of this diſaſter, they ſhaved their heads[41], deprived the Argive women of their golden ornaments, and bound themſelves by a dreadful imprecation never more to aſſume their

40 Herodot. l. i. c. lxxxii.

41 At funerals, the Greeks cut off their hair, to be conſumed in the funeral pile with the bodies of their friends. Thus, at the interment of Patroclus, Achilles

Στας απανευθε πυρης ξανθην απεκειρατο χαιτην
Την ρα Σπερχειω ποταμω τρεφε πηλεθοωσαν.

In the Oreſtes of Euripides, Helen is blamed for ſparing her locks, and cutting off only the ends. "She is," ſays Electra, "η παλαιη γυνη, the ſame coquette as ever." Lyſias, ſpeaking of a great national calamity, ſays metaphorically, "It becomes Greece to ſhave her head." Lyſias, Orat. Funeb. The Argives, as a community, realiſed the metaphor.

wonted

wonted appearance, until they had recovered poſſeſſion of Thyrea. The Spartans, on the other hand, celebrated their victory with the livelieſt expreſſions of national triumph. Othryades alone partook not the general joy. Aſhamed of returning to Sparta a ſolitary monument of three hundred brave men, he, with a generous deſpair, ſacrificed his own life to the manes of his warlike companions. Such were the circumſtances of the Lacedæmonian republic, when the ambaſſadors of Crœſus came to demand their aſſiſtance. The proſperity of their own ſituation naturally heightened, by contraſt, the melancholy condition of their unfortunate ally, beſieged, as they learned, in his capital, by a victorious army. They immediately reſolved to ſend him a ſpeedy and effectual relief; and for this purpoſe aſſembled their troops, made ready their veſſels, and prepared every thing neceſſary for the expedition.

They determine to aſſiſt Crœſus.

The valour of the Spartans might perhaps have upheld the ſinking empire of Lydia, but before their armament could ſet ſail, Crœſus was no longer a ſovereign. Notwithſtanding the ſtrength of Sardis, that city had been taken by ſtorm, on the twentieth day of the ſiege; the walls having been ſcaled in a quarter, which, appearing altogether inacceſſible, was too careleſsly guarded. This was effected by the enterpriſe of Hyreades a Mede, who accidentally obſerved a centinel deſcend part of the rock in order to recover his helmet. Hyreades was a native of the mountainous province of Mardia, and being accuſtomed to

Sardis taken by the Perſians. Olymp. lviii. 1. A. C. 548.

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clamber over the dangerous precipices of his native country, reſolved to try his activity in paſſing the rock upon which he had diſcovered the Lydian. The deſign was more eaſily accompliſhed than he had reaſon to expect; emulation and ſucceſs encouraged the braveſt of the Perſians to follow his example; theſe were ſupported by greater numbers of their countrymen; the garriſon of Sardis was ſurpriſed; the citadel ſtormed; and the rich capital of Lower Aſia ſubjected to the vengeful rapacity of an indignant victor[42].

The Perſians were accuſtomed, like other nations of the ancient world, to exerciſe the rights of conqueſt without reſpecting the laws of humanity. Though they fought, and conquered, and plundered, only for the benefit of their prince, whoſe ſlaves and property they themſelves were, yet in the firſt emotions of military ſucceſs they diſcovered all the eagerneſs of avarice, and all the fury of reſentment; acting as if they had been called to puniſh, not the enemies of their king, but their own perſonal foes; and as if each man had been entitled to reap the full fruits of his rapacious cruelty.

Ungenerous treatment of Cræſus.

The Lydian prince, delivered, as we are told, by an extraordinary accident from the blind rage of the ſoldiery[43], ſeemed to be reſerved for a

[42] Herodot. l. i. c. lxxxiv.

[43] Herodot. p. 36. Cræſus had a dumb ſon, who ſeeing a Perſian ruſh againſt his father, whoſe misfortunes had rendered him careleſs of life, firſt ſpoke on this occaſion: Ἄνθρωπε μὴ κτεινε Κροισον. The learned in phyſiology will decide, whether certain impediments of ſpeech may ſometimes be conquered by the impetuous violence of ſome ſtrong paſſion.

harder

harder fate. Dragged into the preſence of his conqueror, he was loaded with irons; and the ſtern, unrelenting Cyrus, of whoſe humane temper of mind we have ſo beautiful, but ſo flattering a picture in the philoſophical romance of Xenophon, ordered him, with the melancholy train of his Lydian attendants, to be committed to the flames. An immenſe pile of wood and other combuſtibles was erected in the moſt ſpacious part of the city. The miſerable victims, bound hand and foot, were placed on the top of the pyre. Cyrus, ſurrounded by his generals, witneſſed the dreadful ſpectacle, either from an abominable principle of ſuperſtition, if he had bound himſelf by a vow to ſacrifice Crœſus as the firſt fruits of his Lydian victory, or from a motive of curioſity, equally cruel and impious, to try whether Crœſus, who had ſo magnificently adorned the temples, and enriched the miniſters of the gods, would be helped in time of need by the miraculous interpoſition of his much honoured protectors[44].

Meanwhile the unfortunate Lydian, oppreſſed and confounded by the intolerable weight of his preſent calamity, compared with the ſecurity and ſplendor of his former ſtate, recollected his memorable converſation with the Athenian ſage, and uttered with a deep groan the name of Solon. Cyrus aſked by an interpreter, "Whoſe name he

[44] Herodot. l. i. c. lxxxvi.

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invoked?" "*His*," replied Crœſus, emboldened by the proſpect of certain death, "whoſe words ought ever to ſpeak to the heart of kings." This reply not being ſatisfactory, he was commanded to explain at full length the ſubject of his thoughts. Accordingly he related the important diſcourſe which had paſſed between himſelf and the Athenian, of which it was the great moral, that no man could be called happy till his death [45].

Cyrus receives him into favour.

The words of a dying man are fitted to make a ſtrong impreſſion on the heart. Thoſe of Crœſus deeply affected the mind of Cryus. The Perſian conſidered the ſpeech of Solon as addreſſed to himſelf. He repented of his intended cruelty towards an unfortunate prince, who had formerly enjoyed all the pomp of proſperity: and dreading the concealed vengeance that might lurk in the boſom of Fate, gave orders that the pyre ſhould be extinguiſhed. But the workmen who had been employed to prepare it, had performed their taſk with ſo much care, that the order could not ſpeedily be obeyed. At that moment, Crœſus calling on Apollo, whoſe favourite ſhrine of Delphi had experienced his generous munificence, and whoſe perfidious oracle had made him ſo ungrateful a return, the god, it is ſaid, ſent a plentiful ſhower to extinguiſh the pyre. This event, which ſaved the life, and which ſufficiently atteſted the piety of Crœſus, ſtrongly recommended him to the credulity of his conqueror. It ſeemed impoſſible to pay

45 See above, p. 305.

too

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too much reſpect to a man who was evidently the favourite of heaven. Cyrus gave orders that he ſhould be ſeated by his ſide, and thenceforth treated as a king; a revolution of fortune equally ſudden and unexpected. But the mind of Crœſus had undergone a ſtill more important revolution; for, tutored in the uſeful ſchool of adverſity, he learned to think with patience, and to act with prudence; to govern his own paſſions by the dictates of reaſon, and to repay by wholeſome advice the generous behaviour of his Perſian maſter[46].

Crœſus reproaches the oracle of Delphi;

The firſt advantage which he derived from the change in Cyrus's diſpoſition towards him, was the permiſſion of ſending his fetters to the temple of Delphian Apollo, whoſe flattering oracles had encouraged him to wage war with the Perſians. "Behold," were his meſſengers inſtructed to ſay, "the trophies of our promiſed ſucceſs! behold the monuments of the unerring veracity of the god!" The Pythia heard their reproach with a ſmile of contemptuous indignation, and anſwered it with that ſolemn gravity which ſhe was ſo carefully taught to aſſume: "The gods themſelves cannot avoid their own deſtiny, much leſs avert, however they may retard, the determined fates of men. Crœſus has ſuffered, and juſtly ſuffered, for the crime of his anceſtor Gyges, who entruſted, as chief of the guards, with the perſon of Candaules, the laſt king of the race of Hercules, was ſeduced by an impious woman to murder his maſter, to defile his bed, and to uſurp

[46] Herodot. l. i. c. lxxxix.

his

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his royal dignity. For this complicated guilt of Gyges the misfortunes of Crœsus have atoned; but know, that, through the favour of Apollo, theſe misfortunes have happened three years later than the fates ordained[47]." The Pythia then proceeded to explain her anſwers concerning the event of the war againſt Cyrus, and proved, to the conviction of the Lydians, that her words, if properly underſtood, portended the deſtruction, not of the Perſian, but of the Lydian empire. Crœsus heard with reſignation the report of his meſſengers, and acknowledged the juſtice of the Delphian oracle, which maintained and increaſed the luſtre of its ancient fame.

whoſe predictions are explained to his ſatisfaction.

47 Herodot. l. i. c. xci. & ſeq.

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Cyrus threatens the Aſiatic Colonies.—Their Meaſures.—The Spartans remonſtrate againſt his Deſign.—Conqueſts of Harpagus.—Migrations of the vanquiſhed Greeks.—Cyrus takes Babylon.—Cambyſes ſubdues Egypt.—Receives Tribute from the African Greeks.—Reign of Darius.—Final Settlement of the Perſian Empire.—Degeneracy of Manners.—Revolt of Ionia.—State of Greece.—The Ionian Revolt abetted by the Athenians and Eretrians — who burn Sardis.—The Aſiatic Greeks defeated by Sea and Land.—Their Condition under the Perſian Government.

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Cyrus threatens the Ionians. Olymp. lviii. 2. A. C. 547.

DURING the reign of Croeſus, and his four warlike predeceſſors, the Aſiatic Greeks ſometimes enjoyed their favourite form of republican government, ſometimes ſubmitted to domeſtic tyrants, alternately recovered and loſt their national independence. The ſucceſs of the ambitious Cyrus was not likely to improve the condition of the Ionians, who, during the dependence of his fortune, had repeatedly neglected opportunities to deſerve his gratitude. Before invading Lower Aſia, he earneſtly entreated them to ſhare the glory of his arms; but they preferred their allegiance to Croeſus, before the friendſhip of a leſs known, and perhaps ſeverer, tyrant. When the fortune of

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war, or rather the ſuperiority of his own genius, had given Cyrus poſſeſſion of all the neighbouring provinces, the Ionians were forward to declare, by embaſſy, their acceptance of his proffered alliance; or, if that ſhould now be refuſed, to requeſt his protection on the ſame terms required by his Lydian predeceſſor. This ſubmiſſive propoſal only inflamed the ambition of the Perſian; and his celebrated anſwer[1], on this occaſion, clearly announced to the Greeks, that if they would eſcape the rigour of ſervitude, they muſt owe their ſafety to the ſtrenuous exertions of a brave defence, not to the clemency of Cyrus.

Meaſures of the Aſiatic colonies.

When his hoſtile intentions were made known in Ionia, the inhabitants of that delightful country aſſembled in the Panionian grove, their ordinary rendezvous in general and important deliberations. This place, which, together with the adjoining promontory of Mycalé, was ſolemnly conſecrated to Neptune, formed the centre of the Ionic coaſt. Towards the north extended the ſpacious bay of Epheſus, beyond which the beautiful peninſula of Clazomené ſtretched an hundred miles into the Ægean. On the ſouth, the territory of Miletus occupied ſixty-two miles of the winding ſhore. But the Mileſians ſent not their deputies to the preſent convention; for having been the confede-

[1] After the Oriental faſhion, he anſwered them by an apologue. A piper ſeeing a great ſwarm of fiſhes in the ſea, began to play, in order to allure them to land. But as they diſregarded his muſic, he employed a net with better ſucceſs. When caught, the fiſhes jumped about in the net. But he told them, "It is unneceſſary now to dance, ſince I have ceaſed to play." Herodot. l. i. c. cxli.

rates,

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rates, not the ſubjects of Crœſus, they were admitted into the Perſian alliance on terms of equality and independence. The Grecian intereſt in Aſia, thus ungenerouſly abandoned by the principal member of the confederacy, was ſupported with unuſual ſpirit and unanimity by all the inferior communities. Repreſentatives immediately appeared from Myus and Priené, which were ſituate, like Miletus, on the coaſt of Caria; from Epheſus, Colophon, Lebedus, Teos, Clazomené, Erythræ, Phocæa, and Smyrna, which formed the maritime part of Lydia; and from the iſles of Chios and Samos, which completed the whole number of the Ionic ſettlements.

The Ionian confederacy.

Meanwhile the Eolians, alarmed by the ſame danger, convened in their ancient capital of Cymé. Their inferior towns were, Lariſſa, Neontichus, Tenus, Cilla, Notion, Æginoæſſa, Pitané, Ægæa, Myrina, and Greneia. Their territory was more extenſive and more fertile than that of their Ionian rivals, but their climate leſs temperate[a], their harbours leſs commodious, and their cities far leſs conſiderable in power and fame.

That of the Eolians.

It may ſeem extraordinary that the Dorians, eſpecially thoſe inhabiting the peninſula of Caria,

Of the Dorians.

[a] Herodotus's encomium on the climate of Ionia is remarkable: Οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες οὗτοι, τῶν καὶ τὸ Πανιώνιον ἐστι, τῷ μὲν ὡραίῳ, καὶ τῶν ὡρέων, ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ ἐτυγχάνον ἱδρυσαμένοι πόλιας, πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν: "These Ionians, to whom Panionium belongs, have built cities in the fineſt climate, and in the moſt beautiful ſituations, of all men whom we know." He then proceeds to obſerve, that the countries on all ſides of Ionia were oppreſſed by cold and humidity on the one hand, or heat and drought on the other. Herod. l. I, c. cxlii.

who

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who were likewiſe deſtined to feel the Perſian power, ſhould not have joined in meaſures neceſſary for the common defence. But this circumſtance it is ſtill poſſible to explain. Of the ſix Doric republics, who annually aſſembled at Triopium to celebrate the feſtival of Apollo [3], four were encouraged, by their inſular ſituation, to contemn the threats of Cyrus. Cnidus, as will appear hereafter, hoped to derive from art the ſame advantages which its confederates, Cos, Lindus, Jaliſſus, and Camirus, enjoyed by nature. And Halicarnaſſus, the ſixth Dorian ſtate, as we are informed with a laudable impartiality, by a native of that city, had been recently excluded from the Triopian feſtival. This diſgrace was occaſioned by the ſordid avarice of Agaſicles the Halicarnaſſian, who having conquered in the Triopian games, carried away the tripod, which was the prize of his victory; whereas, according to an eſtabliſhed rule, he ought to have conſecrated it in the temple of Apollo. His ſacrilege deprived his country of the common benefits of the Dorian name [4].

Contraſt between the ancient and modern ſtate of Lower Aſia.

To enliven the dryneſs of geographical deſcription, eſſential, however, to the perſpicuity of the preſent narrative, we ſhould in vain turn our thoughts to the actual condition of the Aſiatic ſhore. Few veſtiges remain of the Doric and Eolic cities; and even the Ionic, which far ſurpaſſed them in magnificence and ſplendor, can ſcarcely be recognized by the learned and curious

[3] Three in the iſle of Rhodes, one in Cos.

[4] Herodot. l. i. c. cxiiv.

traveller.

traveller. Nothing now remains but the indelible impreſſions of nature; the works of men have periſhed with themſelves. The phyſical advantages of Lower Aſia continue nearly[5] the ſame now, as two thouſand years ago; but the moral condition of that country, compared to what it once was, is the ſilent obſcurity of the grave, contraſted with the vivid luſtre of active life.

The Aſiatic Greeks having examined the ſtate of their affairs, felt their own weakneſs, compared with the ſtrength of the enemy. In forming their eſtabliſhments in Aſia, they had confined themſelves to a long and narrow line on the coaſt, looking with a wiſhful eye towards the mother-country, from which, in every calamity, they expected aſſiſtance and protection. The reſult, therefore, of the preſent deliberation was to ſend an embaſſy into Greece, in order to explain the danger to which they were expoſed, and to ſhew the neceſſity of powerful and timely aid. It might have been expected that Attica, the native country of the Ionians, ſhould have received the firſt viſit of the ambaſſadors; but Athens was then governed by the tyrant Piſiſtratus, who, it was ſuppoſed, would be averſe to take arms againſt a tyrant like himſelf. Sparta, though a republic of greater power and renown, was little connected, either by commerce or affinity, with the Greeks of Aſia. The propoſals of the Aſiatic ambaſſadors,

The Aſiatic Greeks ſend an embaſſy, craving aid, to the mother-country. Olymp. lviii. A. C. 540.

[5] The changes in the face of the country, produced chiefly by the receding of the ſea, may be ſeen in the ſplendid work of Monſ. Choiſeuil Gouffier, Le Voyage pittoreſque de la Grêce, &c.

therefore,

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therefore, were very coolly received by the Spartan ſenate. On ſuch occaſions, however, it was cuſtomary to take the opinions alſo of the people. In the aſſembly convened for this purpoſe, Pythermus, a Phocæan, clothed with purple, as a mark of his conſideration in his native country, ſpoke for himſelf and his colleagues. But the beauties of his Ionic dialect were unable to move the reſolution of the Lacedæmonians, who, mindful of the ancient enmity between the Ionic and the Doric race, declined ſending any forces into Aſia, to reſiſt the arms of Cyrus. Though their generoſity furniſhed no public aſſiſtance, their caution privately diſpatched ſeveral Spartan citizens to obſerve the operations of the war. When theſe men arrived in Ionia, they were eaſily perſuaded to exceed the bounds of their commiſſion. They appointed Lacrines, the moſt conſiderable of their number, to travel to the Lydian capital, in order to acquaint Cyrus, that if he committed hoſtilities againſt any of the Grecian cities, the Lacedæmonian republic would know how to puniſh his injuſtice. Cyrus, aſtoniſhed at ſuch an inſolent meſſage from a people altogether unknown to him, aſked the Greeks preſent (for there was always a great number of Grecian fugitives in the armies of their neighbours), who the Lacedæmonians were[6]? and what number of men they could bring into the field? When informed of theſe particulars,

The Spartans remonſtrate with Cyrus againſt his deſign of ſubduing the Aſiatic Greeks.

[6] Herodotus leaves it uncertain whether this ignorance was not affected the better to mark his contempt.

he

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He replied to the Spartan ambaſſador, "That he never ſhould fear men who had a ſquare in the midſt of their city, in which they met together to practiſe mutual falſehood and deception[7]; and that if he continued to enjoy the bleſſings of health, he hoped to afford the Spartans more domeſtic reaſons of complaint, than his military preparations againſt the Greeks of Aſia."

His anſwer to them.

The interview with Lacrines happened among the laſt public tranſactions during Cyrus's reſidence at Sardis. Having reduced Crœſus into captivity, the only enemy in thoſe parts who ſeemed worthy of his arms, he was eager to return towards the Eaſt, in order to complete his conqueſts in Upper Aſia. The Grecians he knew to be a warlike people; but as their numbers were inconſiderable, their cities ſmall and ill fortified, he thought proper to attempt in perſon enterpriſes of greater renown, and to commit the Grecian war to the ſkill of his lieutenant, Harpagus[8].

His lieutenant Harpagus reduces all the countries of Lower Aſia. Olymp. lx. 2. A.C. 539.

In the courſe of a few months this general made himſelf maſter of all the countries of Lower Aſia, poſſeſſed by either Greeks or Barbarians. Having the command of men and labour, he cauſed mounds of earth to be thrown up adjacent to the Grecian walls. In this ſervice, immenſe

7 Cyrus alludes to the market-places, or public ſquares, common in all Grecian cities, with the uſe of which the Aſiatics were totally unacquainted, "being deſtitute," as Herodotus ſays, "of all places of public reſort."

8 His predeceſſor, Mazares, died almoſt immediately after he had taken Prienè and Magneſia, and ſold the inhabitants for ſlaves. Herodot. l. i. c. lxi.

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numbers muſt have periſhed by the darts of the enemy; but the work was no ſooner completed, than the Perſians, running up the mounds, got poſſeſſion of the walls, drove the Greeks from their battlements, overpowered them from their own fortifications, entered, and ſacked their towns[9].

The Phocæans leave their country. Olymp. lx. 2. A. C. 539.

When we conſider the fury with which the wars of the ancients were carried on, and reflect, that the immediate conſequences of a defeat were ſervitude or death, we have reaſon to believe that the Greeks would make a reſolute and bloody defence. This indeed ſufficiently appears, by the evidence of a few ſcattered facts preſerved in hiſtory. The firſt place which Harpagus attacked was the celebrated capital of the Phocæans, the moſt northern city of Ionia. The inhabitants, as already mentioned, were famous for their long and ſucceſsful navigations, in the courſe of which they had often viſited the coaſts of Spain, the Mexico and Peru of the ancient world. The money derived from that country had enabled them to build the beſt fortification that was to be ſeen in all thoſe parts; yet they entertained not any hopes of reſiſting the Perſian invaders. Such, however, was their love of liberty, and their dread of ſeeing in their ſtreets the army of a conqueror, that they reſolved on a meaſure which has been often propoſed, but ſeldom executed. When Harpagus ſent them his commands, they begged the favour of a day's pauſe for deliberation. In all probability they had already

9 Herodot. lib. i. cap. clxii, clxiii, & ſeq.

taken many neceſſary meaſures for effecting their eſcape; for during that ſhort interval, their ſhips were prepared, their money and goods put on board, their wives and families embarked, and the whole community was floating on the waves, when the Perſians arrived to take poſſeſſion of deſolated dwellings and empty walls. The advantageous ſituation of Phocæa, and the pains which had been taken to improve and to embelliſh it, make this reſolution appear the more extraordinary; if any thing, at leaſt, can add to the wonder, that a whole people ſhould unanimouſly abandon their temples, their altars, and what in ancient times ſeemed not leſs ſacred, the tombs of their anceſtors; ſhould totally diveſt themſelves of every right to a country which they had been accuſtomed to call their own; and ſet ſail with their wives and children, ignorant whither to direct their courſe, or in what friendly port they might expect protection or repoſe [10].

Their adventures.

The Phocæan fleet, conſiſting of more than two hundred ſail, made for the iſle of Chios, which, of all the Ionic ſettlements, ſeemed moſt ſecure againſt the Perſian arms. Having arrived there, they endeavoured to purchaſe from the Chians the ſmall Oenuſſian iſlands: but the Chians, jealous of their commerce, and knowing the adventurous ſpirit of the fugitives, denied their requeſt. The Phocæans, thus cruelly rejected by men of the ſame race and language with themſelves, ſet ſail on a

[10] Herodot. l. i. c. clxiv.

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much longer voyage, for the iſle of Cynus, or Corſica, where, about twenty years before, they had formed a ſmall eſtabliſhment. As they coaſted, in the night, along the ſolitary ſhore of their ancient city, a few ſhips, manned with enterpriſing crews, landed in the harbour, ſurpriſed the Perſian garriſon, and put every man to the ſword. After applauding this memorable act of revenge, the whole fleet, tranſported with fury againſt the Perſians, bound themſelves by mutual oaths never to return to Phocæa, until a burning ball of iron, which they threw into the ſea, ſhould again emerge unextinguiſhed [11]. Yet ſuch is the powerful attachment of men to their ancient habitations, that in a few hours, more than one half the fleet, unable to reſiſt the alluring proſpect of their native ſhore, diſregarded their oaths, and ſailed for the well-known harbour. The deſtruction of the Perſian garriſon removed the only obſtacle in the way of immediate poſſeſſion; and the blame of this maſſacre might be thrown on their countrymen who fled, while thoſe who returned to Phocæa might prove their innocence, by ſpeedily ſubmitting to every burden impoſed on them. Meanwhile, the beſt and braveſt portion of the Phocæan republic arrived with ſafety at the iſland of Corſica; where, their ſubſequent adventures not being immediately connected with our preſent ſubject, will merit attention in another part of this hiſtory [12].

Part of them return.

The Teians ſettle in Abdera.

The Phocæans were not the only people of Aſiatic Greece who deſerted their country, rather

[11] Herodot. l. i. c. clxv.

[12] Idem, ibid.

than

than abandon their liberty. The Teians, who inhabited the ſouthern ſhore of the Ionic peninſula, had not yet been ſoftened into cowardice by the effeminate muſe of Anacreon. They followed the generous example which the inhabitants of Phocæa had ſet; forſook a city in which they could no longer remain free, and ſought refuge in Abdera, an ancient colony of Clazomenè, on the coaſt of Thrace, and near the mouth of the river Neſſus [13]. CHAP. VIII. Olymp. lx. 2. A.C. 539.

The city of Clazomenè, now mentioned, was built on the continent; but on the preſent occaſion, the inhabitants, to avoid ſlavery, ſettled in eight ſmall iſlands, at a little diſtance from the ſhore, on which they founded a new city, the model of that of Venice. The advantage which the Clazomenians enjoyed by nature, the Cnidians endeavoured to procure by art. They occupied the extremity of the Carian peninſula; and their city being joined to the continent by an iſthmus of only half a mile broad, they attempted, by means of a ditch, to detach themſelves entirely from the main land. If this could be effected, they might deſpiſe the power of their enemies, who not having as yet ſubdued the Phœnicians, poſſeſſed not any naval force ſufficient to conquer the Grecian iſles. But the approach of the Perſians, and ſtill more their own ſuperſtitious fears, interrupted this uſeful undertaking; and the city of Cnidus, as well as all others on the Aſiatic coaſt, Miletus alone ex-

Meaſures of the Clazomenians.

Of the Cnidians.

[13] Herodot. l. i. c. lxviii. & c. clxviii.

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cepted, were reduced to unconditional ſubmiſſion under the Perſian yoke.

Cyrus beſieges Babylon. Olymp. lx. 2. A. C. 539.

While the arms of Harpagus were thus ſucceſsful on the weſtern ſhore, thoſe of Cyrus acquired ſtill greater glory in the central parts of Aſia [14]. With amazing rapidity his victorious troops over-ran the rich countries between the Mediterranean and the Tigris. Every thing gave way before their valour and their fortune. The city of Babylon alone, the ancient and proud capital of the Aſſyrian empire, oppoſed its lofty and impenetrable walls to the ambition of the conqueror. When all the countries round were reduced into obedience it might ſeem abſurd in the inhabitants of one place to think of reſiſting the Perſian arms. But when we conſider the ſingular reſources of this place, we ſhall perceive, that a deſign which would have been obſtinate folly in any other citizens, was no more than proper firmneſs in the Babylonians. Their capital, which was celebrated for its magnificence, wealth, and magnitude, when nothing deſerving the name of capital exiſted elſewhere in the world, was ſituate in a ſpacious plain, ſurrounded on all ſides by broad and rapid rivers. The outward wall was of a firm quadrangular form, three hundred feet high, ſeventy-five broad, extending ſixty miles in circumference, and ſurrounded by a deep ditch, continually ſup-

[14] Xenophon's Cyropædia, and Herodotus, contain the materials for the reign of Cyrus, as far as it is connected with the hiſtory of Greece. It is foreign to the ſubject of the preſent work, to examine the differences between theſe authors.

plied

plied with water. Behind this extraordinary bulwark, of whoſe exiſtence the wall of China and the pyramids of Egypt can alone ſerve to convince modern incredulity, was another of almoſt equal dimenſions; and beſides both theſe general fortifications, each diviſion of the city had its appropriated mounds and defences. It is unneceſſary to deſcribe the towers, temples, and gardens, which by their ſingular greatneſs evidently announced the ſeat of a mighty empire. Theſe magnificent monuments tended, indeed, to adorn, but others, leſs ſplendid, ſerved to defend Babylon [15]. Theſe were magazines of corn and proviſions, capable of maintaining the inhabitants for twenty years; and arſenals, which ſupplied with arms ſuch a number of fighting men as ſeemed equal to the conqueſt or defence of a powerful monarchy. It was to be expected that Babylon would exert its utmoſt ſtrength, being then governed by Labynetus, or Belthazar, whoſe deſpotiſm, injuſtice, and impiety, exceeded even the crimes of his father Nebuchadnezzar, and left him no room to expect forgiveneſs from the clemency of Cyrus.

Takes the city by ſtratagem. Olymp. lx. 3. A. C. 538.

During two years Cyrus blocked up the city, without attaining any nearer proſpect of ſucceſs than when he firſt approached its walls. The events of this memorable ſiege are not related by ancient writers. We only know, that the efforts of the Perſians proved fruitleſs, until ſtrength was directed by ſtratagem. The river Euphrates

[15] Herodot. l. i. c. clxxix. & ſeq.

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entered, by a deep channel, the northern walls of Babylon, and iſſuing forth from the oppoſite ſide, almoſt equally biſected the city. Of this circumſtance Cyrus availed himſelf to become maſter of the place. He employed his numerous army in digging a profound cavern adjacent to the lofty mound which confined the courſe of the river. This work being completed, he patiently waited an opportunity for cutting the mound, and thus turning the waters of the Euphrates into the prepared cavern; ſince if this could be done without being perceived by the enemy, his troops, ſtationed at the two paſſages of the Euphrates, in and out of the city, might enter Babylon by the channel which the river had abandoned. This deſign was happily executed, when the Babylonians, who had long deſpiſed the impotent efforts of the beſiegers, were employed in celebrating a feſtival, with every circumſtance of the moſt licentious ſecurity. The mound of the Euphrates being divided, the higheſt waters deſerted their channel, the river became fordable, and the troops of Cyrus, who, had not the Babylonians been ſunk in riot and debauchery, might have been confined between the walls, and overwhelmed by darts from the battlements, made their entrance unperceived into the place, cut to pieces the unarmed inhabitants; and having puniſhed an impious king and his voluptuous courtiers, took poſſeſſion of the greateſt and richeſt city of the ancient world [16].

[16] Herodot. l. i. c. clxxviii.—c. cxcii.

This

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This memorable event rendered Cyrus ſole maſter of thoſe valuable countries around the Tigris and Euphrates, which, from time immemorial, had been the ſeat of deſpotiſm and luxury, wealth and wickedneſs. The active ambition of this great prince was adopted by the emulation of his immediate ſucceſſors. His ſon Cambyſes received the ſubmiſſion of Tyre and Cyprus, and effected the important conqueſt of Egypt, in the conſequences of which the Greek colonies in that country, and on the adjoining coaſt of Africa, were involved.

Conqueſts of his ſucceſſor Cambyſes. Olymp. lxii. 4. A. C. 529.

Olymp. lxiv. 1. A. C. 524.

In the eighth century before the Chriſtian æra, the adventurous colonies in Ionia and Caria had, amidſt other commercial, or rather piratical expeditions, undertaken a voyage to Egypt. Their brazen armour[17], their courage, and their activity, were beheld with amazement and terror by the Egyptians, then divided by faction, and torn by ſedition. Pſammetichus, one of the many pretenders to the throne, engaged the Greeks in his ſervice. Through their valour and diſcipline, he made himſelf maſter of Egypt. His rewards and promiſes prevailed on them to ſettle in that country. They upheld the throne of his ſucceſſors, until Apries, the fourth in deſcent from Pſammetichus, having undertaken an unfortunate expedition againſt the Greek colony of Cyrenè, was dethroned by Amaſis, the contemporary and ally of Crœſus[18].

Pſammetichus raiſed to the throne of Egypt by Greek pirates, who ſettle in that country:

Amaſis rivalled the Lydian prince in his partiality for the language and manners of the Greeks.

Are employed as the body guard of his ſucceſſor Amaſis.

[17] Herodot. l. ii. c. clii. & ſeq.

[18] Herodot. ibid. & Diodor. Sicul. l. i. c. xlvi.

He

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He raiſed a Cyrenean woman to the honours of his bed. The Greeks who had ſerved his predeceſſors, and who, in conſequence of the Egyptian law, obliging the ſon to follow the profeſſion of his father, now amounted to near thirty thouſand, he removed to Memphis, his capital, and employed them as his body guard. He encouraged the correſpondence of this colony with the mother country; invited new inhabitants from Greece into Egypt; promoted the commercial intercourſe between the two nations; and aſſigned to the Greek merchants for their reſidence the town and diſtrict of Naucratis, on the Nile, where they enjoyed the free exerciſe of their religious proceſſions and ſolemnities, and where the induſtry of the little iſland of Ægina in Europe, and the opulence of ſeveral Greek cities in Aſia, erected temples after the faſhion of their reſpective countries [19].

Cambyſes conquers Egypt. Olymp. lxiii. 4. A. C. 525.

This able prince was ſucceeded by his ſon Pſammenitus, ſoon after Cambyſes mounted the throne of Perſia. While Cambyſes made preparations for invading Egypt, Pſammenitus imprudently excited the reſentment of Phanes [20], a Halicarnaſſean by birth, and an officer of much authority in the Grecian guards. Phanes having dexterouſly effected his eſcape from Egypt, offered his ſervices to Cambyſes, who by this time had collected the Grecian and Phœnician fleets. This armament, however, ſeemed unequal to the conqueſt of Egypt; and to conduct an army thither by land, was an

[19] Herodot. l. ii. c. clii. & ſeq. [20] Herodot. l. iii. c. iv. &c.

under-

undertaking of extreme difficulty. The main obſtacle was overcome by the experience of Phanes. He adviſed Cambyſes to purchaſe the friendſhip of an Arabian chief, who agreed to tranſport on camels a ſufficient quantity of water for the uſe of the Perſians in their paſſage through the deſert. With the punctuality peculiar [21] to his nation, the Arabian fulfilled his engagement. The Perſian army joined the fleet before Peluſium; that place, regarded as the key of Egypt, ſurrendered after a ſhort ſiege; Pſammenitus was defeated in a great battle; and the whole kingdom ſubmitted to a haughty conqueror [22], whom proſperity rendered incapable of pity or remorſe. CHAP. VIII.

His cruel, outrageous, and almoſt frantic behaviour in Egypt, alarmed the neighbouring Africans, who ſought to avert the tempeſt from themſelves by ſpeedy offers of ſubmiſſion and tribute. This prudent meaſure was adopted even by the Greek inhabitants of Cyrenaica, who had braved the united power of Egypt and Lybia. The African Greeks were a colony of Thera, the moſt ſouthern iſland of the Ægean, and itſelf a colony of the Lacedæmonians [23]. During the heroic ages, but it is uncertain at what preciſe æra, the adventurous iſlanders ſettled in that part of the Synus Syrticus, which derived its name from the principal city, Cyrenè, and which is now loſt in the deſert of Barca. Deſcended from Lacedæmon, The African Greeks pay tribute to Cambyſes. Their hiſtory.

[21] Herodot. ibid. [22] Idem, ibid.

[23] Herodot. l. iv. c. clix. & ſeq.

the

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the Cyrenians naturally preſerved the regal form of government. Under Battus, the third prince of that name, their territory was well cultivated, and their cities populous and flouriſhing. Six centuries before the Chriſtian æra, they received a conſiderable acceſſion of inhabitants from the mother country. Emboldened by this reinforcement, they attacked the neighbouring Lybians[24], and ſeized on their poſſeſſions. The injured craved aſſiſtance from Apries king of Egypt[25]. A confederacy was thus formed, in order to repreſs the incurſions, and to chaſtiſe the audacity of the European invaders. But the valour and diſcipline of Greece, though they yet feared to encounter the power of Cambyſes, and the renown of Perſia, always triumphed over the numbers and the ferocity of Africa[26]: nor did Cyrenè become tributary to Egypt, till Egypt itſelf had been ſubdued by a Grecian king, and the ſceptre of the Pharaohs and of Seſoſtris had paſſed into the hands of the Ptolemies[27].

Darius Hyſtaſpes mounts the throne of Perſia. Olymp. lxiv. 4. A.C. 521.

Cambyſes is ſaid to have died by an accidental wound from his own ſword. Darius Hyſtaſpes, the third in ſucceſſion to the empire (for the ſhort reign of the prieſt Smerdis deſerves only to be mentioned in the hiſtory of the palace), poſſeſſed the political abilities, but reached not the magna-

24 Herodot. l. iv. c. clix.

25 Herodot. ibid. Diodor. Sicul. l. i. c. xlvi.

26 Herodot. ibid. & l. iii. c. clxi.

27 Strabo, l. ii. & l. xvii. p. 836. Pauſan. l. i.

nimity,

nimity, of Cyrus. His ambition was unbounded, and his avarice ſtill greater than his ambition. To diſcriminate the characters of the three firſt and moſt illuſtrious of their monarchs, the Perſians, in the expreſſive language of the Eaſt, ſtyled Cyrus the father, Cambyſes the maſter, or tyrant, and Darius the broker, of the empire. The laſt-mentioned prince added the wealthy, but unwarlike, nations of India to his dominions. This important acquiſition, which cloſed the long ſeries of Perſian conqueſts in Aſia, was formed into the twentieth ſatrapy, or great diviſion of the empire. The other military enterpriſes of this prince (as we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to relate) were leſs ſucceſsful. But his reign is chiefly remarkable, as the ſuppoſed æra at which the religious and civil polity of the Perſians received that form which they afterwards invariably retained.

The ſuppoſed age of Zoroaſter.

Yet it muſt be acknowledged, that the greateſt learning and ingenuity have failed in the arduous taſk of aſcertaining the age, and ſtill more of explaining the doctrines, of Zoroaſter. At whatever period he lived, he certainly did for the Perſians, what Homer and Heſiod are ſaid to have done for the Greeks[28]. His theogony[29], as the Greeks would have called it, conſiſted in the extravagant doctrine of the two principles, in ſome moral precepts, and innumerable abſurd ceremonies. The magi, or prieſts, who probably derived ſome ſhare of their influence from practiſing

Religion of the Perſians.

[28] See above, p. 250.

[29] Herodot. l. i. c. cxxxii.

thoſe

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thoſe occult ſciences afterwards diſtinguiſhed by their name, were ſtrongly protected by the authority of the prophet. "Though your good works," ſays the Sadder, "exceed the ſands on the ſea ſhore, or the ſtars of heaven, they will all be unprofitable, unleſs accepted by the prieſt; to whom you muſt pay tithes of all you poſſeſs, of your goods, of your lands, and of your money. The prieſts are the teachers of religion, they know all things, and deliver all men." Next to the prieſts, the royal family, and particularly the reigning prince, was the peculiar care of Zoroaſter. In their prayers and ſacrifices, the Perſians were not allowed to ſolicit individually for themſelves the protection of Heaven, but only for the great king, and for the nation at large. In celebrating their religious worſhip, they employed neither altars, nor images, nor temples; they even derided the folly of ſuch practices in others, probably (ſays Herodotus) not believing, like the Greeks, the nature of the gods to reſemble that of men. On the ſummits of the higheſt mountains they ſacrificed to the divinity; and the whole circle of the heavens they called God. They ſacrificed, beſides, to the elements, particularly fire, which they conſidered as the pureſt ſymbol, and moſt powerful agent, of the Divine Nature. They borrowed, however, the worſhip of ſome other divinities from the Aſſyrians and Arabians; for of all ancient nations, the Perſians, according to Herodotus, were the moſt diſpoſed to adopt the cuſtoms of their neighbours. They ſoon preferred

preferred the dreſs, and as an eſſential part of dreſs, the arms of the Medes to their own. When they became acquainted with the Greeks, they learned the worſt and moſt unnatural of their vices. There was ſcarcely any abſurdity, or any wickedneſs, which they might not imbibe, from the licentious caprice, the univerſal corruption, and the exceſſive depravity of Babylon. The hardy and intrepid warriors, who had conquered Aſia, were themſelves ſubdued by the vices of that luxurious city. In the ſpace of fifty-two years, which intervened between the taking of Babylon, and the diſgraceful defeat at Marathon, the ſentiments, as well as the manners of the Perſians, underwent a total change; and, notwithſtanding the boaſted ſimplicity of their religious worſhip, we ſhall find them thenceforth oppreſſed by the double yoke of deſpotiſm and ſuperſtition, whoſe combined influence extinguiſhed every generous feeling, and checked every manly impulſe of the ſoul [10].

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Their manners.

The tendency towards this internal decay was not perceived during the reign of Cyrus, whoſe extraordinary abilities enabled him to ſoften the rigours of deſpotiſm, without endangering his authority. He committed not the whole weight of government to the inſolence of ſatraps, thoſe proud ſubſtitutes of deſpotiſm, who were ever ready to betray their truſt, and abuſe their power. The inferior governors of towns and diſtricts were appointed and removed by himſelf, to whom only

under Cyrus.

[10] Xenoph. de Inſt. Cyri, l. iii. p. 238—243.

they

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they were accountable. By an inſtitution, ſomewhat reſembling the modern poſt, he provided for exact and ready information concerning the public occurrences in every part of his dominions. The vigilant ſhepherd of his people, he was always ready to hear their petitions, to redreſs their grievances, and to reward their merit. Nor did the love of eaſe or pleaſure ever interfere with the diſcharge of his duty, in which he placed the greateſt glory and happineſs of his reign [31].

Under Darius. Olymp. lxv. 4. A.C. 517. Reſources and grandeur of that monarch.

His ſucceſſors were univerſally diſtinguiſhed by an exorbitant ambition, nouriſhed by the immenſe reſources of their empire, which under Darius amounted to fourteen thouſand five hundred and ſixty Eubœic talents, a ſum equal to three millions ſix hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand pounds ſterling. Of this vaſt revenue, which, conſidering the value of money in ancient times, exceeded thirty millions at preſent, the Greek cities on the coaſt, together with the Carians, Lycians, and ſeveral other nations of Aſia Minor, paid only the thirty-ſixth part, a little more than an hundred thouſand pounds. Beſides this ſtated income, Darius might on every neceſſary occaſion demand the money and ſervices of his ſubjects. His predeceſſors were contented with voluntary contributions, and a militia. This prince eſtabliſhed taxes, and a ſtanding army. The number of his troops equalled the reſources of his treaſury; and both correſponded to the extent of his dominions, which

[31] Xenoph. ibid. p. 230.

compre-

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comprehended the greateſt and moſt populous nations of the earth. The barbarity of the northern Scythians, and the pertinacious ſpirit of the European Greeks, the only enemies whom it remained for him to conquer, ſeemed feeble barriers againſt the progreſs of univerſal monarchy. In the extenſive regions of Aſia, every head bowed to the tiara of the great king, who in an annual progreſs through the central parts of his empire, ſpent the winter in the warm plains of Babylon; enjoyed the happy temperature of ſpring in the city of Suſa, which adorned the flowery banks of the Eulæus; and avoided the ſummer heats in his ſpacious palace at Ecbatan, fanned by the refreſhing breezes of the Median mountains [32].

His expedition into Scythia. Olymp. lxvi. 4. A. C. 513.

But Darius could not enjoy the ſplendour of his preſent greatneſs, while a ſingle nation had merited his reſentment, without feeling the weight of his revenge. The wandering hordes of Scythia have been, in all ages, formidable to the civilized kingdoms of the Eaſt. Thrice before the reign of Darius the inhabitants of that frozen region had over-run the fineſt provinces of Aſia. Fighting againſt theſe Barbarians, the founder of the Perſian empire had loſt his army and his life. It belonged to his warlike ſucceſſor to puniſh the ferocity of that rude and uncultivated, but bold and high-minded people. With an army, it is ſaid, of ſeven hundred thouſand men, Darius traverſed Aſia Minor, croſſed the Thracian Boſphorus, ra-

[32] Xenoph. ibid. & Herodot. l. iii. c. lxxix. & ſeq.

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vaged Thrace, and arrived on the banks of the Danube. Meanwhile a fleet of ſix hundred ſail left the Aſiatic coaſt, and paſſing the narrow ſeas, which join the Ægean to the Euxine, coaſted in a northern direction the ſhores of the latter, entered the mouth of the Danube, and ſailed along that river until they joined the army. The Danube was paſſed by the uſual expedient of a bridge of boats, which was built by the aſſiſtance of the fleet, compoſed chiefly of Grecians, who were left to guard the work of their hands againſt the dangers of the elements, and the deſtructive rage of the Barbarians[33].

Loſes great part of his army.

This formidable army, collected from ſo many diſtant provinces, boldly entered the vaſt uncultivated wilds of Scythia, in which they continued for five months, continually expoſed to hunger and thirſt, and the darts of the flying enemy. When they prepared to return from an expedition in which they had already loſt the beſt part of their ſtrength, their good fortune, rather than their prudence, ſaved them from immediate deſtruction. It had been agitated among the Greeks, whether they ought not to demoliſh the bridge; a meaſure ſtrongly recommended to them by the Scythian tribes, who having ravaged all the adjacent country, expected to revenge the invaſion of the Perſians, by confining them, without reſource, in an inhoſpitable deſert. Miltiades, an Athenian, deſcended from the heroic Ajax, eagerly embraced this pro-

[33] Herodot. l. iv. c. i. & ſeq.

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poſal. He was king, or tyrant of the city of Cardia, ſituate near the neck of the Thracian Cherſoneſus. There his uncle, of the ſame name, planted a Grecian colony, which uniting with the barbarous natives, formed a ſmall community, the government of which deſcended to the ſon of his brother Cimon, who increaſed the population of the riſing ſtate by new inhabitants from Athens. The generous ſon of Cimon, though, like all the princes of thoſe parts, he held his authority under the protection of Darius, preferred the recovery of national independence to the preſervation of perſonal dignity. The other chiefs of the Grecian cities liſtened with apparent pleaſure to his arguments for deſtroying the bridge, and thus delivered themſelves for ever from the yoke of Perſia. Hiſtiæus, tyrant of Miletus, was alone averſe to this bold reſolution. He obſerved to the little tyrants of the Aſiatic Greeks, "That their own intereſt was intimately connected with the ſafety of Darius and his Perſians. Under the auſpicious influence of that powerful people, they each of them enjoyed royalty in their reſpective commonwealths: but ſhould the empire of the Perſians fall, (and what leſs could be expected from the deſtruction of Darius and his army?) the Greeks would immediately diſcover their partiality for republican government, baniſh their kings, and reaſſume liberty." The opinion of Hiſtiæus prevailed; the Perſians repaſſed the Danube: but Miltiades, dreading their reſentment, had previouſly retired to Athens, where, twenty-three years

Miltiades approves the advice of the Scythians for cutting off his retreat.

Hiſtiæus, tyrant of Miletus, oppoſes this meaſure.

His opinion prevails. Olymp. lxvi. 4. A.C. 513.

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after the Scythian expedition, he enjoyed a more favourable opportunity of diſplaying his attachment to the cauſe of liberty, in the ever memorable battle of Marathon [34].

He accompanies Darius to Upper Aſia.

If the public-ſpirited Athenian excited the hatred and revenge, the ſelfiſh tyrant of Miletus deſerved the gratitude and the rewards of Darius. To continue the ſovereign of his native city ſeemed a ſtation below his merit; he was taken into the confidence of Darius, and accompanying him to Sardis, and afterwards to Suſa, became the friend, counſellor, and favourite of the great king. While Hiſtiæus acted ſuch a diſtinguiſhed part at the Perſian court, his nephew Ariſtagoras, to whom he had committed the government of Miletus, incurred the diſpleaſure of Artaphernes [35], the brother of Darius, and governor of Sardis. The repreſentations of that miniſter, he well knew, would be ſufficient to ruin him, both with his uncle and with Darius, by whom he might be deprived not only of his authority, but of his life. Governed by theſe conſiderations, Ariſtagoras meditated a revolt [36], when a meſſenger unexpectedly arrived from Hiſtiæus, exhorting him to that meaſure. The crafty Mileſian, who diſliked

34 Herodot. l. iv. c. i. & ſeq.

35 Ariſtagoras had quarrelled with Megabates, the kinſman of Artaphernes (ſince both were of the blood royal), during a fruitleſs expedition, in which they ſeem to have enjoyed a joint command, againſt the iſland of Naxos, one of the Cyclades. Herodot. l. ii. c. xxviii. & ſeq.

36 Herodot. l. v. c. xxxvi. xxxvii.

the

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the reſtraint of a court, and the uncouth manners of the Perſians, languiſhed for an honourable pretence to return to his native country; and he ſaw not any means more proper for affording ſuch an opportunity, than the tumults of the Greeks, which, as lieutenant of Darius, he would probably be ſent to quell. His meſſage confirmed the reſolution of Ariſtagoras, who, as the firſt act of rebellion againſt the Perſians, formally renounced all power over his fellow-citizens [37]. After giving this ſeemingly diſintereſted proof of his regard for the public, he erected the ſtandard of freedom, which was ſoon ſurrounded by the flower of the Ionian youth; by whoſe aſſiſtance, traverſing the whole coaſt, he aboliſhed in every city the authority of kings, and proclaimed to all worthy to acquire it, the double bleſſing of civil liberty and national independence [38].

His intrigues with Ariſtagoras; Olymp. lxix. 3. A. C. 502.

who excites the Ionians to revolt from the Perſian government.

The revolt thus happily effected, could not however be maintained without more powerful reſources than the ſtrength, the bravery, and the enthuſiaſm of the Aſiatic Greeks. In order to reſiſt the force of the Perſian empire, which, it was eaſy to foreſee, would ſoon be exerted in cruſhing their rebellion, it was neceſſary for the Ionians to obtain the protection and co-operation of their brethren in Europe. This important object was committed to the prudence and activity of Ariſtagoras, who having ſettled the affairs of the

Sails to Greece to crave aſſiſtance.

37 Herodot. l. v. c. xxxvi. xxxvii. 38 Herodot. l. v. c. xxxviii.

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Eaſt, undertook, for the public ſervice, an embaſſy into Greece.

His proceedings at Sparta.

Lacedæmon ſtill continued, rather in name, however, than in reality, the moſt powerful ſtate in that country. Though their government was, in ſtrict language, of the republican kind, yet the Spartans ſometimes beſtowed an extraordinary authority on their kings. This degree of preeminence, more honourable than any that birth or fortune can beſtow, the public eſteem had conferred on Cleomenes. To him therefore Ariſtagoras, after arriving at Sparta, found it neceſſary to apply [39]; and in order to effect the object of his commiſſion, he deſcribed to the Spartan king the immenſe wealth of the Perſians, which they had neither virtue to enjoy, nor valour to defend. He painted in the warmeſt colours, the love of liberty which animated the Ionians, and their firm expectation that the Spartans would enable them to maintain that political independence, which their own laws taught them to conſider as the moſt valuable of all human poſſeſſions. Their intereſt and their glory, he obſerved, were on this occaſion moſt fortunately united: for how much greater glory might be acquired by conquering Aſia, than by ravaging Greece? and how much eaſier would it be to defeat the Perſian archers, than to ſubdue the Arcadians or Argives, who knew, as well as the Spartans themſelves, the uſe of the ſpear and buckler? Their journey to Suſa, the rich capital

39 Herodot. l. v. c. xlix. & ſeq.

of

of the Perſian dominions, would be not only ſafe but delightful. To prove this, he ſhewed the Spartan a brazen tablet, on which, it is ſaid, were engraved all the countries, ſeas, and rivers, of the ancient world. Pointing to the coaſt of Aſia Minor, and the cities of the Ionians, with which Cleomenes was already acquainted, he ſhewed him adjoining to theſe, the beautiful and rich country of Lydia. Next to the celebrated kingdom of Crœſus (he obſerved) extend the fertile fields of Phrygia, equally adapted to agriculture and paſturage. Beyond Phrygia lie the territories of the Cappadocians, whom the Greeks call Syrians. Farther towards the eaſt dwell the wealthy Cilicians, who pay an annual tribute of five hundred talents to the king; next to them live the Armenians, abounding in cattle; and laſt of all the Matienians, bordering on the province of Ciſſia, and the flowery banks of the Choaſpes[40], containing the ſuperb city of Suſa, and the invaluable treaſury of Darius. This immenſe ſpace is filled by well-inhabited countries, interſected by excellent roads, and ſupplied at proper diſtances with convenient places of refreſhment and accommodation, even for a great army. Cleomenes having patiently liſtened to the verboſe deſcription of the Mileſian, anſwered him with Laconic brevity, "In three days I will decide concerning the propriety of your demand[41]." At the expiration of that time, Ariſtagoras failed not to repair to the place appointed, where he was

[40] Otherwiſe called the Eulæus, as above, p. 353.

[41] Herodot. ibid.

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ſoon met by the Spartan king, who aſked him, In how many days they might march to Suſa? Here the uſual prudence of Ariſtagoras forſook him; for he ought not to have told the true diſtance, ſays Herodotus, if he had wiſhed to engage the Spartans to accompany him. But he replied unguardedly, That travelling at the rate of about eighteen miles a day, they might reach Suſa in three months. Upon this, Cleomenes exclaimed with indignation, "Mileſian ſtranger, you muſt be gone from Sparta before the ſetting of the ſun; for you have made a very inauſpicious and a very dangerous propoſal, in adviſing the Spartans to undertake a journey of three months from the Grecian ſea." With this ſevere reprimand he left Ariſtagoras, and immediately returned home. The artful Mileſian, however, was not to be diſconcerted by a firſt refuſal. According to the cuſtom of ancient times, when men endeavoured to paint to the eye the feelings of the heart, he cloathed himſelf in the garment of a ſuppliant, and ſought protection in the houſe of Cleomenes. Having obtained the favour of a third audience, he attempted to effect by money what he could not accompliſh by argument. But he found it as difficult to bribe, as it had been to perſuade, the Spartan; and although he tempted him with the offer of above five thouſand pounds (an immenſe ſum in Greece in thoſe days), it was impoſſible to render Cleomenes propitious to his deſign [42].

His overtures rejected there.

[42] Herodot. l. v. c. li.

Ariſtagoras,

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Ariſtagoras, thus ungenerouſly diſmiſſed from Sparta, had recourſe to the Athenians, from whom he had reaſon to expect a more favourable reception. Athens was the mother-country of the Ionians, who formed the greateſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed portion of the Aſiatic Greeks. The Athenians, as a maritime ſtate, had always maintained a cloſer connection than the Spartans with their diſtant colonies; and as they poſſeſſed, for that early age, a very conſiderable naval ſtrength, they were not averſe to a diſtant expedition. Beſides theſe reaſons, which at all times muſt have had no ſmall influence on their councils, the preſent ſituation of their republic was peculiarly favourable to the cauſe of Ariſtagoras. The free form of government, gradually introduced by the progreſſive ſpirit of liberty, had been defined by the laws of Solon, and confirmed by the unanimous approbation of the whole people. The public aſſembly, conſiſting of all citizens who had attained the age of manhood, was inveſted with the executive, as well as the legiſlative, powers of government. The nine archons were rather the miniſters, than, as their name denotes, the governors of the republic. The ſenate, conſiſting firſt of four, and afterwards of five hundred members, was conſtituted by lot, the moſt popular mode of appointment. The court of the Areopagus, originally entruſted with the criminal juriſdiction, aſſumed an extenſive power in regulating the behaviour and manners of the citizens. It conſiſted only of ſuch magiſtrates as had diſcharged with approbation the duties of their reſpective

He applies to Athens.

Conſtitution of that republic, as regulated by Solon. Olymp. xlvi. 3. A. C. 594.

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reſpective offices. The members were named for life; and as, from the nature of the inſtitution, they were perſons of a mature age, of an extenſive experience, and who having already attained the aim, had ſeen the vanity of ambition, their characters admirably fitted them for reſtraining the impetuous paſſions of the multitude, and for ſtemming the torrent of popular frenzy. Such was the government [41] enjoyed by the Athenians, which they fondly regarded as the moſt perfect of all human inſtitutions, and which was peculiarly endeared to them at preſent, by the recent recovery of freedom, after a long, though, in general, not a cruel tyranny.

Uſurpation of Piſiſtratus. Olymp. l. 3. A.C. 578.

The danger of tyranny is an evil neceſſarily attending every democratical republic, in which, as there is not a proper ſeparation between the legiſlative and executive powers, the aſſembly muſt often intruſt to one man thoſe functions of government, which the collective body of the people are ſometimes unable, and always ill qualified to exerciſe; and in which, therefore, the ſplendor of wealth may dazzle, the charms of eloquence may ſeduce, and the combined power of policy and proweſs may

[41] I forbear treating fully of the Athenian government and laws, until the eſtabliſhment of what was called the Athenian empire. During more than ſixty years, that republic maintained dominion over many hundred cities and colonies. The fate of all theſe, as well as the meaſures of independent and hoſtile ſtates, depended on the proceedings of the Athenians. Then, and not till then, a thorough acquaintance with the internal conſtitution and ſtate of Athens will become neceſſary for explaining the hiſtorical tranſactions which we ſhall have occaſion to record.

intimidate

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intimidate and ſubdue the unſteady minds of the ignorant vulgar. The fame of his Olympic victories could not procure for Cylon [44] the ſovereignty of Athens; and it is probable that many other unſucceſsful candidates had aſpired at this high object of ambition, before the arts and eloquence of Piſiſtratus, who, though born an Athenian citizen, was deſcended of the blood of ancient kings, obtained poſſeſſion of the dangerous prize, which proved fatal to his family.

Expulſion of Hippias. Olymp. lxvii. 3. A.C. 510.

What his enterpriſing ability had acquired, his firmneſs, his wiſdom, and his moderation [45] enabled him long to maintain. So completely was his authority eſtabliſhed, that on his death the government deſcended, as a private inheritance, to his ſon. Reſentment of a perſonal injury [46] delivered the Athenians from the mild tyranny [47] of Hipparchus; though his murderers, Harmodius and Ariſtogeiton, were afterwards celebrated by the Athenians, not as the avengers of a private quarrel, but as the reſtorers of public freedom [48]. His brother

44 Thucyd. l. i. c. cxxvi. Plut. in Solon.

45 Plato in Hipparch. Herodot. Thucydid. i. 20. Ariſtot. Polit. l. v. c. xii.

46 In this circumſtance Plato agrees with Thucydides, whoſe account of the tranſaction differs widely from that of moſt other ancient writers. Thucydid. l. vi.

47 Plato, p. 234. The orators Andocides and Iſocrates agree with the philoſopher. Meurſius has made a careful collection of all the paſſages relating to the Piſiſtratidæ, in his Piſiſtratus.

48 Αιει σφων κλεος ισσεται κατ' αιαν
Φιλτατε Αρμοδιε και Αριστογειτων
Οτι τον τυραννον κταντον
Ισονομους τ' Αθηνας ἑποιησατην. ALCÆUS.

49 Your

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brother Hippias ſucceeding to the throne, treated his countrymen with a degree of ſeverity which they had not hitherto experienced: his perſon and his government became alike odious; he was expelled, by the aſſiſtance of the Lacedæmonians, and the general indignation of an injured people, after his family had, with various interruptions, governed Athens ſixty-eight years.

A.C. 578—510.

Rapid ſucceſs of the Athenians after the re-eſtabliſhment of democracy.

The power of Athens was great in ancient times; but it became incomparably greater after the re-eſtabliſhment of democracy [49]. So advantageous to the powers of the human mind is the enjoyment of liberty, even in its leaſt perfect form, that in a few years after the expulſion of Hippias, the Athenians acquired an aſcendant in Greece, which was fatal to their enemies, painful to their rivals, and even dangerous to themſelves. They chaſtiſed the inſolence of the iſlanders of Eubœa and Ægina, who contended with them in naval power; and humbled the pride of Thebes, which rivalled them in military glory. Favoured, as they fondly believed, by the protection of their tutelary Minerva, and animated, as they ſtrongly felt, by the poſſeſſion of an equal freedom, they adorned their

A.C. 509—504.

"Your glory ſhall laſt for ever, moſt beloved Harmodius and Ariſtogeiton, becauſe you ſlew the tyrant, and procured equal laws for Athens."

49 This obſervation, which is literally tranſlated, has weight, from ſuch an old and honeſt hiſtorian as Herodotus. His words are ſtill ſtronger in another paſſage: Δηλοι δε ὑ καθα ἐν μουνοι αλλα πανταχῃ ἡ ισηγοριη ὡς ἐστι χρημα σπουδαιον, ἐι και Αθηναιοι τυραννευομενοι μεν, ουδαμων των σφεας περιοικεοντων ησαν αμεινες, απαλλαχθεντες δε τυραννων, μακρῳ πρωτοι ἐγενοντο. Herodot. l. v. c. lxxviii.

capital

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capital with the richeſt ſpoils of their vanquiſhed enemies. Their influence ſoon extended over the northern parts of Greece; and the fame of their power, ſtill greater than their power itſelf, alarmed the fears and jealouſy of the Poloponneſians. The Spartans, in particular, who had aſſiſted them in reſtoring the democracy, now perceived the error of which they had been guilty, in promoting the greatneſs of an ambitious rival. In order to prevent [50] the dangerous conſequences of their folly, they ſummoned to a congreſs all their allies in Pe-

Jealouſy of the Peloponneſians.

[50] Beſides this principal reaſon, the Spartans, and particularly their king Cleomenes, had private grounds for quarrel with the Athenians. The Alcmæonidæ, a powerful family, and rivals of the Piſiſtratidæ, had been baniſhed Athens during the uſurpation of the latter. Having repeatedly tried, without ſucceſs, to return by force, they at length had recourſe to ſtratagem. The temple of Delphi having been deſtroyed by fire, they contracted with the Amphictyons for rebuilding it; and inſtead of employing Porine ſtone, agreeably to their contract, they built the whole front of Parian marble. This generoſity gained them the good-will of the Amphictyons; bribery procured them the favour of the Pythia, or rather of the directors of the oracle; and the Lacedæmonians were commanded by Apollo to deliver Athens from tyrants. This was effected by Cleomenes, who, upon diſcovering the fraud, was moved with great reſentment againſt Cliſthenes, the principal of the Alcmæonidæ, by whom he and his country had been ſo ſhamefully deceived. He therefore united with Iſagoras, the rival of Cliſthenes. The latter, together with his partiſans, were again baniſhed from Athens. But the Athenians perceiving it to be the intention of the prevailing faction to eſtabliſh an oligarchy, flew to arms. Cleomenes and Iſagoras took refuge in the citadel. On the third day they ſurrendered on capitulation. The Lacedæmonians were allowed to retire in ſafety. Iſagoras was baniſhed; many of his partiſans executed; and the Alcmæonidæ, headed by Cliſthenes, again returned in triumph. From this time democracy, in the ſtrict ſenſe of the word, continued, with ſhort interruptions, to prevail in Athens. Herodot. l. v. c. lxv. & ſeq. Thucyd. l. vi. c. lviii.

loponneſus,

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Iopponneſus, that their united wiſdom might concert proper meaſures for reſiſting, ere it was too late, the encroachments of the Athenians, which threat-

A.C. 504. ened the liberties of all Greece. Their allies readily obeyed the welcome ſummons, and the deputies of the ſeveral ſtates having aſſembled in the Spartan forum, eagerly liſtened to the ſpeakers appointed to explain the intentions of that republic. The Lacedæmonian orators acknowledged the miſtaken policy of their country, in expelling from Athens the family of Piſiſtratus, and delivering the government of that city into the hands of a moſt ungrateful populace, who had ſince treated them with much indignity. "But why (they proceeded) ſhould we relate private injuries? Have they not inſulted all their neighbours? Does not their pride daily increaſe with their power? and is there not reaſon to dread, that their growing ambition may endanger, and at length deſtroy, the public ſafety? In order to prevent this evil, we have recalled Hippias from baniſhment. And let us, therefore, by our united efforts, reinſtate the ſon of Piſiſtratus in that power and authority of which we moſt injudiciouſly deprived him."

Their deſign of reſtoring Hippias proves abortive.

The ſpeech of the Lacedæmonians produced not the intended effect. The Peloponneſians, however jealous of the Athenian greatneſs, were ſtill more jealous of the power of tyrants; and many of them, who had experienced the haughtineſs of Sparta, were not diſſatisfied with beholding a rival to that republic in the northern diviſion of Greece. The other deputies expreſſed their diſſent by ſilent diſap-

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diſapprobation; but Soſicles, the Corinthian, declared his ſentiments at great length; in a ſpeech which alike marks the manly character of the age, and the youthful vigour of Grecian eloquence. "Then ſurely, Lacedæmonians, will the heavens ſink below the earth, and the earth riſe ſublime in the air; men will inhabit the depths of the ſea, and fiſhes will take poſſeſſion of the land, when you, formerly the bulwarks of liberty, ſhall demoliſh the popular governments of Greece, and eſtabliſh tyrannies in their room, than which nothing can be more unjuſt or more pernicious." After this pompous exordium, the Corinthian proceeded to deſcribe and exaggerate the calamities which his own countrymen had ſuffered from the uſurpation of Cypſelus, and his ſon Periander. Having related, at great length, the proud, cruel, and deſpotic actions of thoſe princes, "Such," added he, "are the genuine fruits of abſolute power; but I adjure you by the Grecian gods! attempt not to re-eſtabliſh it in Athens. The Corinthians were ſeized with aſtoniſhment, when they heard that you had ſent for Hippias; I myſelf was amazed at beholding him in this aſſembly; yet we never ſuſpected that you propoſed to reſtore him, in triumph, to his much-injured city. If you ſtill perſiſt in this fatal reſolution, know that the Corinthians diſavow all part in a deſign equally unjuſt and impious[51]." The other deputies liſtened with pleaſure to the boldneſs of Soſicles,

[51] Herodot. l. v. c. xcii.

who

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A.C. 504.

who expreſſed the ſentiments which they themſelves felt, but which their reſpect for the Lacedæmonians obliged them to conceal. Hippias alone, oppoſed the general voice of the aſſembly, atteſting the ſame gods which his opponent had invoked, and propheſying, that at ſome future time the Corinthians would repent their preſent conduct, and regret their cruel injuſtice to the ſon of Piſiſtratus, when their own citizens, as well as the reſt of Greece, ſhould fatally experience the dangerous ambition of Athens. This remonſtrance, which was ſo fully juſtified in the ſequel, produced no immediate effect in the aſſembly; the Lacedæmonians finally yielded to the general requeſt of their confederates, and abſtained from their intended innovation in the government of a Grecian city.

Artaphernes commands the Athenians to reinſtate Hippias. Olymp. lxix. 4. A.C. 501.

The dethroned prince, finding his cauſe univerſally abandoned by the Greeks, ſought the protection of Artaphernes, the Perſian governor of Sardis. Having acquired the confidence of this magiſtrate, he repreſented to him the inſolence, ingratitude, and perfidy of his countrymen, and the ſevereſt reproaches with which he loaded their character, gained ready belief with the Perſian. The Athenians, who were informed of theſe intrigues, ſent ambaſſadors to Sardis, in order to counteract them: but the reſolution of Artaphernes was already taken; and he told the ambaſſadors, that if they conſulted their ſafety, and would avoid the reſentment of Perſia, they muſt reinſtate Hippias in the throne of his father. His anſwer had been

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been reported to the Athenians, and the aſſembly had finally reſolved to oppoſe the power of the greateſt empire upon earth, rather than admit within their walls the declared enemy of their liberties [52].

Ariſtagoras arrives in Athens. Olymp. lxx. 1. A.C. 500.

Preciſely at this juncture Ariſtagoras arrived at Athens, explained the revolt of the Aſiatic Greeks from the government of Artaphernes, and ſolicited the aſſiſtance of the Athenians, in defending their own colonies againſt the oppreſſive violence of the common foe. Many arguments were not neceſſary to make the people of Athens adopt a meaſure which gratified their own paſſions. The eloquent Mileſian, however, deſcribed the wealth and extent of Perſia, the grandeur and populouſneſs of its cities, and, above all, the ſlothful effeminacy and puſillanimous weakneſs of their inhabitants, who, unable to ſupport the ponderous ſhield, or to poiſe the manly lance, invited, as an eaſy prey, the victorious arms of a more warlike invader. The ſpeech of Ariſtagoras was well fitted to excite the ambition and avarice of Athens. The aſſembly immediately decreed that aſſiſtance ſhould be ſent to Ionia. Twenty ſhips were fitted out with all convenient ſpeed, which, reinforced by five more belonging to Eretria, a town of Eubœa, rendezvouſed in the harbour of Miletus [53].

The Athenians ſend twenty ſhips to aſſiſt their colonies.

Meaſures of the confederates. Olymp. lxx. 1. A.C. 500.

Ariſtagoras ſpent not long time in his embaſſy to the other ſtates of Greece, and ſoon met his Athenian allies at the place appointed. It was here

[52] Herodot. ibid. c. xcvi.

[53] Herodot. l. v. c. xcvii.

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determined, that while the commander in chief regulated the civil affairs of the Ionians, his brother Charopinus ſhould conduct a military expedition againſt the wealthy capital of Lydia. The Athenians, deſirous of teſtifying their reſentment againſt the common enemy, and ſtill more deſirous of plunder, eagerly engaged in this undertaking. The united fleets left the harbour of Miletus, and ſailed to Epheſus, where the troops were diſembarked; and, in three days, accompliſhing a journey of ſeventy miles, appeared before the walls of Sardis. The Perſian governor little expected ſuch a viſit; his ſoldiers were not prepared to take the field; and the extenſive walls of the city could not be defended, on all ſides, againſt the beſiegers. Artaphernes, therefore, contented himſelf with defending the citadel; while the Greeks, without oppoſition, entered Sardis, in order to plunder the accumulated wealth of that ancient capital. But an accident prevented them from reaping the fruits of their ſucceſs. The reſentment of a rapacious ſoldier, diſappointed of his prey, ſet fire to the houſe of a Lydian, ſituate on the ſkirts of the town, which conſiſted, for the moſt part, of very combuſtible materials, the houſes being all roofed, and many of them walled with cane; a mode of building doubly dangerous in that aduſt climate. The flames readily communicated from one houſe to another; and, in a ſhort time, the whole circumference of the place was ſurrounded with a wall of fire. Sardis was built in the Grecian, not

They take and burn Sardis.

in

in the eaſtern, faſhion [54], having, on the banks of the Pactolus, which interſected the town, a ſpacious ſquare, which commonly ſerved for the market-place [55]. Thither the Perſians, driven from the extremities, betook themſelves for refuge againſt the fury of the flames.

Arms formed part of the dreſs of Barbarians [56], and the Perſians, who had aſſembled in the ſquare without any intention of making defence, diſcovered their own ſtrength to be more than ſufficient to reſiſt the enemy. Meanwhile the flames of Sardis brought the inhabitants from all parts of Lydia to their aſſiſtance. The Greeks were attacked, repelled, obliged to abandon their booty; and it was not without much difficulty that they effected their eſcape. Their retreat from Sardis was ſtill more rapid than their march thither. It then appeared, that the taking and burning of the Lydian capital was no more than a ſtroke of military addreſs, which ſucceeded, becauſe unforeſeen, and of which the Greeks had not ſufficient ſtrength to avail themſelves. The enemy collecting their whole force, purſued them to Epheſus, and defeated them with great ſlaughter, notwithſtanding the vigorous reſiſtance of the Athenians. The Eubœan auxiliaries alſo behaved with uncommon ſpirit, headed by their countryman Eualcides, whoſe Olympic victories had been highly extolled

Are defeated in their retreat.

54 We have already obſerved, that the Perſians had not any Forum, or place of public reſort.

55 Herodot. l. v. c. ci. & ſeq. 56 Thucydid. in proem.

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in the verſes of Simonides, and whoſe death on this occaſion was long and deeply regretted.

Subſequent conduct of the confederates.

Bad fortune is commonly attended with diſſenſions in a confederate army. The allies threw the blame on each other, and the Athenians returned home in diſguſt, determined no longer to endanger[57] themſelves for the ſake of men who employed ſo little wiſdom or valour in their own defence. The Ionians, though deſerted by their allies, and defeated by the enemy at land, carried on the war vigorouſly by ſea. Sailing northwards, they reduced Byzantium, and all the neighbouring cities on the Helleſpont, or Propontis. Their fleet then directed its courſe to Caria, and having become maſter of the moſt conſiderable portion of that coaſt, defeated the Phœnicians off the iſle of Cyprus. The military ſucceſs of the Perſians engaged them, on the other hand, to proſecute the war by land; and their ſubſequent operations diſcovered ſuch a degree of prudence and courage, as they ſeem never to have exerted on any future occaſion. In order the more ſpeedily to quaſh the hopes of the inſurgents, they formed their numerous army into three diviſions, allotting to each its particular department. After theſe ſeparate brigades had reduced the ſmaller cities of the Eolians, Dorians, and Ionians, the three great branches of the Hellenic race, it was concerted, that they ſhould re-aſſemble in one body, to attack Miletus, which was regarded as the centre of rebellion; and

Vigorous meaſures of the Perſians for cruſhing the rebellion.

57 Herodot. ibid.

which,

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which, though properly an Ionic city, was conſidered, on account of its great ſtrength and importance, rather as the metropolis of the whole country, than as the capital of a particular province. This plan, ſo judiciouſly concerted, was carried into execution by three ſons-in-law of Darius, Hymees, Dauriſes, and Otanes; the firſt of whom reduced the Eolian cities; the ſecond conquered the Dorians, as well as the other inhabitants of Caria[58], while Otanes, aſſiſted by the counſels and bravery of Artaphernes, overran the Ionic coaſt, burning and deſtroying all before him. The miſerable natives were put to the ſword, or dragged into captivity; the more fortunate eſcaped theſe calamities, by flying to their ſhips, or taking refuge within the lofty walls of Miletus[59].

They beſiege Miletus. Olmyp. lxxi. 3. A.C. 494.

The time now approached for attacking that place, which, as its harbour commanded the coaſt, it was neceſſary to inveſt by ſea and land. We might, on this occaſion, expect to find Ariſtagoras, the prime mover of the rebellion, diſplaying the fertile reſources of his genius; but before Miletus was beſieged, Ariſtagoras was no more. The perfidious Ionian, who had perſuaded, not only his own countrymen, but all the Aſiatic, and many of the European, Greeks, that the public ſafety

Ariſtagoras flies to Thrace;

[58] After the conqueſt ſeemed complete, Dauriſes was ſurpriſed and ſlain by Heraclides, a general of the Carians. But this diſaſter had no effect on the general fortune of the war. Herod. l. v. c. cvi.

[59] Herodot. l. v. c. cvi. cvii. & ſeq.

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was the ſole object of his concern, had never probably any other end in view but the ſucceſs of his own ſelfiſh deſigns. When Cymé and Clazomené, two neighbouring towns of Ionia, had ſurrendered to the Perſians, he thought it time to provide, by a ſpeedy retreat, for his perſonal ſafety; and abandoning, in its greateſt need, a country which he had involved in all the calamities of war, he fled, with his numerous partizans, to an obſcure corner of Thrace, ſituated beyond the reach, both of the Perſians, from whom he had revolted, and of the Grecians, whom he had betrayed. But while he endeavoured to ſecure his eſtabliſhment there, he provoked, by his cruelty, the deſpair of the natives, and, together with the companions of his perfidy, periſhed miſerably by the hands of thoſe fierce Barbarians, who thus revenged what happened to be, for once, the common cauſe of Greece and Perſia [60].

is ſlain there.

The intrigues of Hiſtiæus.

About this time Hiſtiæus, the Mileſian, the kinſman and friend of Ariſtagoras, arrived from Suſa, commiſſioned by Darius to direct, by his experienced wiſdom and perfect knowledge of the country, the valour and activity of the Perſian generals. The birth, the education, the manners of this ſingular man, together with the ſtrong partiality of every Greek in favour of his native land, might have afforded good reaſon to the Perſian king to ſuſpect his fidelity: he indeed ſuſpected it; but the artful addreſs, the warm pro-

60 Herodot. l. v. c. cxxiv. cxxv. cxxvi.

feſſions,

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ſeſſions, the ſubtle inſinuation of Hiſtiæus, eaſily overcame every prejudice which his ſituation and character made it natural to conceive againſt him. He was ſent to aſſiſt the army of Darius, his benefactor, in cruſhing the Grecian rebellion; but his real intention was to take upon himſelf the conduct of that rebellion, and to raiſe his own greatneſs on the ruins of the Perſian power. As he paſſed to the coaſt of Aſia Minor, his intrigues produced a conſpiracy at Sardis, which, being diſcovered by the vigilance of Artaphernes, ended in the deſtruction of his accomplices. Hiſtiæus made a ſeaſonable retreat to the Ionian ſhore [61], where he hoped to be received with open arms by his ancient friends. But the Mileſians, remembering his former tyranny, and the recent baſeneſs of his nephew Ariſtagoras, ſhut their gates againſt him. He ſought admiſſion into Chios, but without better ſucceſs. The Leſbians, with much difficulty, lent him eight veſſels, which he employed againſt the enemy in the Euxine; but he was taken by the Perſians, and crucified at Sardis, having performed nothing ſufficient to change the fortune of a war, which had been undertaken by his advice, and fomented by his ambition [62]. His death.

Meanwhile the Perſian fleet and army ſurrounded the walls of Miletus. We are not informed of the exact number of their land forces, which conſiſting of all the united garriſons in thoſe parts, muſt have greatly exceeded any ſtrength which the mucli The ſiege of Miletus continued.

[61] Herodot. l. vi. c. ii. & ſeq. [62] Herodot. ibid.

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exhauſted Greeks could bring into the field. Their fleet, compoſed of Phœnicians, Cilicians, and Egyptians, amounted to ſix hundred ſail; beſides a conſiderable naval force belonging to the iſle of Cyprus, which, having co-operated during one year with the Ionian inſurgents, had recently ſubmitted to Darius. In order to deliberate concerning the means of oppoſing this mighty armament, the Grecians aſſembled in the Panionian council, where it was unanimouſly reſolved, that no attempt ſhould be made to reſiſt the Perſians by land: the citizens of Miletus alone were exhorted to defend their walls to the laſt extremity, under the conduct of Pythagoras, a perſon of great rank and eminence in that republic. While every effort ſhould be exerted for maintaining this ſtrong hold of Ionia, it was determined that the Grecian fleet, the laſt and only hope of the nation, ſhould aſſemble at the ſmall iſland of Ladé, lying off the harbour of Miletus, and offer battle to that of the Perſians [63]. When all their forces were collected at the appointed rendezvous, they amounted to three hundred and fifty-three ſhips, which, containing, each at a medium, a complement of above two hundred men, made the whole amount to a number ſufficiently reſpectable, and which, had they all remained firm and unanimous in the common cauſe, might, perhaps, have ſtill rendered them victorious. Such, at leaſt, was the opinion of the Perſian commanders, who, when informed of the

The Grecians determine to defend it to the laſt extremity;

and to oppoſe the enemy by ſea.

[63] Herodot. l. vi. c. vi. & ſeq.

ſtrength

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ſtrength of the Grecian fleet, deſpaired of conquering it by open force, and endeavoured to effect by policy, what they could not accompliſh by valour. Calling together the Ionian tyrants, who, after being expelled their dominions by Ariſtagoras, had taken refuge with the Medes, and actually followed the ſtandard of Darius, they repreſented to thoſe baniſhed princes, that now was the time to ſhew their attachment to the ſervice of the great king. For this purpoſe they were inſtructed, each of them, to perſuade, by meſſage or a perſonal interview, the ſubjects whom he had formerly commanded, to deſert the Grecian confederacy; to acquaint them, that if they complied with this propoſal, their houſes and temples ſhould be ſpared, while thoſe of their more obſtinate allies would be deſtroyed by the flames; that their republics ſhould be treated with great lenity, and even received into favour, while their countrymen who reſiſted, would inevitably be reduced into ſervitude; their youth diſgraced by caſtration; their virgins tranſported to Bactria, to ſatisfy the luſt of Barbarians; and their country, which contained every thing once dear to them, their temples, their ſtatues, their oracles, and the tombs of their anceſtors, beſtowed on ſome more deſerving and leſs rebellious people.

The Perſians attempt to diſunite them,

Theſe inſidious repreſentations, however, produced not any immediate effect. Each community, believing that they alone were ſolicited to abandon the common cauſe, ſcorned, on account of their private advantage, to deſert the general intereſt of the

without immediate effect.

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the confederacy, and next day they called a council of war, to conſider of the means proper, not for appeaſing the wrath, but for reſiſting the arms, of the Perſians.

The advice of Dionyſius the Phocæan.

In this council, where no diſtinction of perſons prevailed, every individual had full liberty to propoſe his opinion. That of Dionyſius, a Phocæan, met with the approbation of the aſſembly. "Our "fortunes," ſaid he, "O Ionians! ſtand on a "needle's point. We muſt either vindicate our "liberty, or ſuffer the ignominious puniſhment of "fugitive ſlaves. If we refuſe preſent labour "and danger, we ſhall be expoſed to eternal diſ-"grace; but the toils of a few days will be com-"penſated by a life of freedom, of glory, and of "happineſs. Submit, therefore, to my direction, "and I will pledge my life, that, if the gods de-"clare not againſt us, the enemy will either de-"cline the engagement, or, engaging, be ſhame-"fully defeated." The Greeks, conſenting to ſubmit to the diſcipline of Dionyſius, he, every day, arranged the fleet in three diviſions: towards the eaſt extended the right wing, conſiſting of eight ſhips of the Mileſians, twelve belonging to Priené, and three, which formed the whole ſtrength of the ſmall republic of Myus. The centre conſiſted of an hundred prime ſailors, furniſhed by the Chians, ſeventy from Leſbos, and a few ſhips, ſent by the little cities of Erythræa, Phocæa, and Teios. The Samians alone, with ſixty ſail, formed the left wing to the weſtward.

In

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In ancient times the ſucceſs of a naval engagement principally depended on the activity of the rowers, and the ſkill of the pilots, whoſe object it always was to dart, with great violence, the ſharp beak or prow of their own ſhips, againſt the ſides of the enemy. Sometimes, at one ſtroke, more frequently by repeated aſſaults, while they themſelves, with wonderful dexterity, eluded ſuch a ſhock, they ſhattered or ſunk the veſſel of their opponents. By their continual exerciſe in navigation, the Greeks had acquired ſuch proficiency in managing their gallies, that their movement depending, not on the external impulſe of the wind, but on the active principle within, reſembled the rapid motion of a fiſh in its native element. Conſtant practice, however, was neceſſary to maintain this ſuperiority, and ſtill more to preſerve their bodies in a capacity for labour, which, on account of the ſoftneſs of the climate and the heat of the ſeaſon, were ready to melt away in ſloth and debility. The prudent Phocæan, therefore, commanded them often to change their ſtations, habituating the ſailors to the labour of the oar, and the reſtraints of diſcipline, which he aſſured them would, by habit, become eaſy and agreeable. For ſeven days they cheerfully obeyed his commands: but, at length, the warmth of the ſeaſon rendered their exertions too great for their ſtrength. Diſtempers broke out in the fleet. The Greeks, always averſe to every ſhadow of abſolute authority, complained at firſt in ſecret murmurs, and afterwards in licentious clamours, of the intolerable hardſhips

His regulations obſerved for a while;

but diſcontinued.

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hardſhips to which they were expoſed by the ſeverity of an inſolent Phocæan, who, though he brought only three ſhips to the common defence, had aſſumed an arbitrary direction in all their affairs. Governed by theſe ſentiments, they refuſed any longer to obey his commands, landed on the ſhore of Ladé, formed a camp in the iſland, and, ſitting under the ſhade of their tents, diſdained the uſeful labours to which they had hitherto ſubmitted.

The Greeks defeated in a ſea-fight.

The Samians, who ſaw and dreaded the conſequence of this general diſorder, privately accepted the propoſal which had been made them by the Perſians. Their perfidy brought deſtruction on the common cauſe; for in the engagement, which followed ſoon after, they hoiſted ſail and deſerted the line. The Leſbians followed their example. Among thoſe, however, who obtained ſignal honour, by adhering to the cauſe of Greece, were eleven captains of Samian veſſels, who deteſted the treachery of their companions, and deſpiſed the ſigns of their admirals; on which account they were rewarded, at their return, by the community of Samos, with a pillar and inſcription, tranſmitting their names, with immortal renown, to poſterity. But of all the Greeks, the Chians acquired greateſt glory on that memorable day: notwithſtanding their inferior ſtrength, they defended themſelves to the laſt extremity, and rendered the victory late and dear to the Perſians.

Miletus taken.

The naval defeat was ſoon followed by the taking of Miletus, which ſurrendered in the ſixth year

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from the commencement of the revolt. The Perſians made good the threats which they had denounced againſt the obſtinacy of their enemies. Samos alone, at the price of its perfidy, obtained the ſafety of its houſes and temples. Thoſe of all the other communities were burnt to the ground. The women and children were dragged into captivity. Such of the Mileſian citizens as eſcaped not by flight, were either put to the ſword, or carried into the heart of Aſia, and finally ſettled in the territory of Ampé, near the mouth of the Tygris. In other places, men of a timid or melancholy complexion continued to brood over the ruins of their ancient ſeats. The more enterpriſing ſailed to Greece, to the coaſt of Italy and Sicily, and to the Greek colonies in Africa. Probably not a few betook themſelves to piracy, among whom was Dionyſius the Phocæan, who plundered the Tuſcan and Carthaginian veſſels, always ſparing the Grecian. The Perſian fleet wintered at Miletus, and next ſpring ſubdued the iſlands of Chios, Leſbos, and Tenedos[64]. Thus were the Aſiatic Greeks conquered for the third time, once by the Lydians, and twice by the Perſians.

Olymp. lxxi. 3. A.C. 494. Diſperſion of the Greeks, and deſolation of their country.

But notwithſtanding theſe repeated ſhocks, which ſubjected the inhabitants of Ionia to ſuch dreadful calamities, that delightful country ſoon recovered its ancient populouſneſs and ſplendour. The Perſian government, having ſufficiently puniſhed the rebellion, began gradually to relent. The Ionians

Ionia begins to flouriſh under the Perſian government.

[64] Herodot. l. vi. c. xxxi. & ſeq.

became

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became an object of care and protection to Darius. Useful regulations were made for maintaining the public peace, as well as for securing the lives and properties of individuals. The face of the country began once more to smile; the cities, being built of slight materials, were easily repaired, while the exuberant fertility of the soil, the attractive beauties of the prospect, the charms of the climate, and the convenience of the harbours (an advantage of which the Persians knew not to avail themselves), speedily collected the Greeks into their ancient habitations. Even those places which had been deserted or destroyed, emerged from the gloom of desolation, and assumed the cheerful appearance of industrious activity. And such was the attachment of the Greeks to their native land, and such their ambition to adorn it, that the labour of a few years repaired the destructive ravages of the Barbarians.

CHAP. IX.

Reſentment of Darius againſt Greece.—Maritime Expedition of Mardonius.—Invaſion of Greece by Datis and Artaphernes.—Battle of Marathon.—Tranſactions in the Interval between that Battle and Xerxes's Invaſion.—The Invaſion of Xerxes.—Battle of Thermopylæ.

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Introduction to the hiſtory of the Perſian invaſion.

IN attempting to give the reader a general, but tolerably complete, view of the ancient hiſtory of Greece, it was often neceſſary to have recourſe to very obſcure materials; to arrange and combine the mutilated fragments of poets and mythologiſts; and to trace, by the eſtabliſhed principles of critical conjecture, and the certain, becauſe uniform, current of human paſſions, thoſe events and tranſactions which ſeem moſt curious and important. In this ſubſequent part of my work, the difficulty conſiſts not in diſcovering, but in ſelecting, the materials; for the magnificent preparations, the ſplendid commencement, and the unexpected iſſue, of the Perſian war, have been related with the utmoſt accuracy of deſcription, and adorned by the brighteſt charms of eloquence. The Grecian poets, hiſtorians, and orators, dwell with complacence on a theme, not leſs important than extenſive, and equally adapted to diſplay their own abilities, and to flatter the pride of their country. The

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The variety of their inimitable performances, generally known and ſtudied in every country converſant with literature, renders the ſubject familiar to the reader, and difficult to the writer. Yet does the merit of thoſe performances, however juſtly and univerſally admired, fall ſhort of the extraordinary exploits which they deſcribe; exploits which, though ancient, ſtill preſerve a freſh and unfading luſtre, and will remain, to the lateſt ages, precious monuments of that generous magnanimity, which cheriſhes the ſeeds of virtue, inſpires the love of liberty, and animates the fire of patriotiſm.

Subject divided into three acts.

The memorable tragedy (to adopt on this occaſion an apt alluſion of Plutarch), which ended in the eternal diſgrace of the Perſian name, may be divided, with propriety, into three principal acts. The firſt contains the invaſion of Greece by Darius's generals, Datis and Artaphernes, who were defeated in the battle of Marathon. The ſecond conſiſts in the expedition undertaken ten years afterwards by Xerxes, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Darius, who fled precipitately from Greece, after the ruin of his fleet near the iſle of Salamis. The third, and concluding act, is the deſtruction of the Perſian armies in the bloody fields of Mycalé and Platea; events which happened on the ſame day, and nearly two years after Xerxes's triumphal entry into Greece.

Olymp. lxxii. 3. A. C. 490.

Olymp. lxxv. 1. A. C. 480.

Olymp. lxxv. 2. A. C. 479.

Darius's reſentment againſt the Athenians.

The complete reduction of the inſurgents on the Aſiatic coaſt, prompted Darius to take vengeance on ſuch Greeks as had encouraged and aſſiſted the unſuc-

unſucceſsful rebellion of his ſubjects. The proud monarch of the Eaſt, when informed that the citizens of Athens had co-operated with the Ionians in the taking and burning of Sardis, diſcovered evident marks of the moſt furious reſentment; ſhooting an arrow into the air, he prayed that heaven might aſſiſt him in puniſhing the audacious inſolence of that republic; and every time he ſat down to table, an attendant reminded him of the Athenians, leſt the delights of eaſtern luxury ſhould ſeduce him from his fell purpoſe of revenge [1]. CHAP. IX.

The execution of his deſign was entruſted to Mardonius, a Perſian nobleman of the firſt rank, whoſe perſonal, as well as hereditary advantages, had entitled him to the marriage of Artazoſtra, daughter of Darius; and whoſe youth and inexperience were compenſated, in the opinion of his maſter, by his ſuperior genius for war, and innate love of glory. In the ſecond ſpring after the cruel puniſhment of the Ionians, Mardonius approached the European coaſt with an armament ſufficient to inſpire terror into Greece. The rich iſland of Thaſus, whoſe golden mines yielded a revenue of near three hundred talents, ſubmitted to his fleet; while his land-forces added the barbarous province of Macedon to the Perſian empire. But having ſteered ſouthward from Thaſus, the whole armament was overtaken, and almoſt deſtroyed, by a violent ſtorm, while endeavouring to double the

Unfortunate expedition of Mardonius; Olymp. lxxi. 4. A.C. 493.

who loſes the greateſt part of his fleet.

[1] Herodot. l. v. c. cv. & ſeq.

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promontory of mount Athos, which is connected with the Macedonian ſhore by a low and narrow neck of land, but forms a long and lofty ridge in the ſea. Three hundred veſſels were daſhed againſt the rocks; twenty thouſand men periſhed in the waves. This diſaſter totally defeated the deſign of the expedition; and Mardonius having recovered the ſhattered remains of the fleet and army, returned to the court of Perſia, where, by flattering the pride, he averted the reſentment of Darius; while he repreſented, that the Perſian forces, invincible by the power of man, had yielded to the fury of the elements; and while he deſcribed and exaggerated, to the aſtoniſhment and terror of his countrymen, the exceſſive cold, the violent tempeſts, the monſtrous marine animals, which diſtinguiſh and render formidable thoſe diſtant and unknown ſeas [a].

Succeeded by Datis and Artaphernes. Olymp. lxxii. 3. A. C. 490.

The addreſs of Mardonius reſcued him from puniſhment; but his misfortunes removed him from the command of Lower Aſia. Two generals were appointed in his room, of whom Datis, a Mede, was the more diſtinguiſhed by his age and experience, while Artaphernes, a Perſian, was the more conſpicuous for his rank and nobility, being deſcended of the royal blood, and ſon to Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, whoſe name has frequently occurred in the preſent hiſtory. That his lieutenants might appear with a degree of ſplendour ſuitable to the majeſty of Perſia, Darius aſſembled

[a] Herodot. l. vi. c. xliii. & ſeq.

an

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Their armament and views.

an army of five hundred thouſand men[3], conſiſting of the flower of the provincial troops of his extenſive empire. The preparation of an adequate number of tranſports and ſhips of war, occaſioned but a ſhort delay. The maritime provinces of the empire, Egypt, Phœnicia, and the coaſts of the Euxine and Egean ſeas, were commanded to fit out, with all poſſible expedition, their whole naval ſtrength; the old veſſels were repaired, many new ones were built, and in the courſe of the ſame year in which the preparations commenced, a fleet of ſix hundred ſail was ready to put to ſea. This immenſe armament the Perſian generals were ordered to employ, in extending their conqueſts on the ſide of Europe, in ſubduing the republics of Greece, and more particularly in chaſtiſing the inſolence of the Eretrians and Athenians, the only nations which had conſpired with the revolt of the Ionians, and aſſiſted that rebellious people in the deſtruction of Sardis. With reſpect to the other nations which might be reduced by his arms, the orders of Darius were general, and the particular treatment of the vanquiſhed was left to the diſcretion of his lieutenants; but concerning the Athenians and Eretrians, he gave the moſt poſitive commands, that their territories ſhould be laid waſte, their houſes and temples burned or demoliſhed, and their perſons

[3] Beſides Herodotus, Plutarch, and Diodorus Siculus, this expedition is related by Lyſias, Orat. Funeb. Iſocrat. Panegyr. Plato, Menex. Pauſan. l. x. c. xx. Juſtin. l. ii. c. ix. Corn. Nepos, in Milt.

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carried in captivity to the eaſtern extremities of his empire. Secure of effecting their purpoſe, his generals were furniſhed with a great number of chains for confining the Grecian priſoners; a haughty preſumption (to uſe the language of antiquity) in the ſuperiority of man over the power of fortune, which on this, as on other occaſions, was puniſhed by the juſt vengeance of heaven.

They reduce the Cyclades,

The Perſian fleet enjoyed a proſperous voyage to the iſle of Samos, from whence they were ready to proceed to the Athenian coaſt. The late diſaſter which befel the armament commanded by Mardonius, deterred them from purſuing a direct courſe along the ſhores of Thrace and Macedonia: they determined to ſteer in an oblique line through the Cyclades, a cluſter of ſeventeen ſmall iſlands, lying oppoſite to the territories of Argos and Attica. The approach of ſuch an innumerable hoſt, whoſe tranſports darkened the broad ſurface of the Egean, ſtruck terror into the unwarlike inhabitants of thoſe delightful iſlands. The Naxians took refuge in their inacceſſible mountains; the natives of Delos, the favourite reſidence of Latona and her divine children, abandoned the awful majeſty of their temple, which was overſhadowed by the rough and lofty mount Cynthus. Paros[4], famous

4 The marble of Paros was ſuperior in whiteneſs, and the fineneſs of its grain, to the hard ſparkling veins of mount Pentelicus in Attica; which, from the ſize and brilliancy of its component particles, ſomewhat reſembling ſalt, is called by the Italians *Marmo ſalino*. The two kinds of marble were always the moſt valued by the Greeks; but the marble of Paros was preferred by artiſts, as yielding more eaſily

famous for its marble; Andros[5], celebrated for its vines; Ceos, the birth place of the plaintive Simonides; Syros, the native country of the ingenious and philoſophic Pherecydes; Ios, the tomb of Homer[6]; the induſtrious Amorgos[7]; as well as all the other[8] iſlands which ſurrounded the once ſacred ſhores of Delos, either ſpontaneouſly offered the uſual acknowledgment of earth and water, as a teſtimony of their friendſhip, or ſubmitted, after a feeble reſiſtance, to the Perſian arms[9].

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The invaders next proceeded weſtward to the iſle of Eubœa, where after almoſt a continued engagement of ſix days, their ſtrength and numbers, aſſiſted by the perfidy of two traitors, finally prevailed over the valour and obſtinacy of the Eretrians[10].

and Eubœa;

Hitherto

eaſily to the graving tool, and on account of the homogeneouſneſs of its parts, leſs apt to ſparkle, and give falſe lights to the ſtatue. The works of Parian marble, in the Farneſian palace at Rome, are mentioned by Winkelmann, Geſchichte ker kunſt des Alterthums, l. i. c. 2.

5 The wines of Andros and Naxos were compared to nectar. See Athenæus, l. i.

6 Strabo, l. x. & Plin. l. iv. Pauſanias (in Phocic.) ſays, that Climenes, the mother of Homer, was a native of the iſle of Ios; and Aulus Gellius, l. iii. aſſerts, on the authority of Ariſtotle, that this iſland was the birth-place of Homer himſelf.

7 Amorgos was long famous for the robes made there, and diſtinguiſhed by its name. Suid. ad voc. They were dyed red, with a ſpecies of lichen, which abounds in that iſland, and which was formerly uſed by the Engliſh and French in dying ſcarlet.

8 Herodot. l. vi. c. 94.

9 Herodot. l. vi. c. 101. & ſeq.

10 The preſent deplorable ſtate of theſe once fortunate iſlands may be ſeen in Tournefort, the moſt learned of travellers. Deſpotiſm, a

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invade Attica.

Hitherto every thing was proſperous; and had the expedition ended with the events already related, it would have afforded juſt matter of triumph. But a more difficult taſk remained, in the execution of which the Perſians (happily for Europe) experienced a fatal reverſe of fortune. After the reduction of Eubœa, the Athenian coaſts, ſeparated from that iſland only by the narrow ſtrait of Euripus, ſeemed to invite the generals of Darius to an eaſy conqueſt. They readily accepted the invitation, as the puniſhment of Athens was the main object which their maſter had in view when he fitted out his ſeemingly invincible armament. The meaſures which they adopted for accompliſhing this deſign appear abundantly judicious; the greater part of the army was left to guard the iſlands which they had ſubdued; the uſeleſs multitude of attendants were tranſported to the coaſt of Aſia; with an hundred thouſand choſen infantry, and a due proportion of horſe, the Perſian generals ſet ſail from Eubœa, and ſafely arrived on the *Marathonian ſhore*, a diſtrict of Attica about thirty miles from the capital, conſiſting chiefly of level ground, and therefore admitting the operations of cavalry, which formed the main ſtrength of the Barbarian army, and with which the Greeks were very poorly provided. Here the Perſians pitched their camp, by the advice of Hippias, the baniſhed

double ſuperſtition (the Grecian and Mahommedan), pirates, banditti, and peſtilence, have not yet depopulated the Cyclades, which reſpectively contain three, five, ten, and the largeſt, twenty thouſand inhabitants.

king

king of Athens [11], whoſe perfect knowledge of the country, and intimate acquaintance with the affairs of Greece, rendered his opinion on all occaſions reſpectable.

The Athenians take meaſures for their defence.

Meanwhile the Athenians had raiſed an army, and appointed ten generals, with equal power, choſen, as uſual, from the ten tribes, into which the citizens were divided. Their obſtinate and almoſt continual hoſtilities with the Phocians, the Thebans, and their other northern neighbours, prevented them from entertaining any hopes of aſſiſtance from that quarter: but, on the firſt appearance of the Perſian fleet, they ſent a meſſenger to Sparta, to acquaint the ſenate of that republic with the immediate danger that threatened them, and to explain how much it concerned the intereſt, as well as the honour of the Spartans, who had acquired juſt pre-eminence among the Grecian ſtates, not to permit the deſtruction of the moſt ancient and the moſt ſplendid of the Grecian cities. The ſenate and aſſembly approved the juſtice of this demand, they collected their troops, and ſeemed ready to afford their rivals, whoſe danger now converted them into allies, a ſpeedy and effectual relief. But it was only the ninth day of the month; and an ancient, unaccountable, and therefore the more reſpected, ſuperſtition prevented the Spartans from taking the field, before the full of the moon [12]. When that period ſhould arrive,

Demand aſſiſtance from Sparta.

[11] Thucyd. l. vi. c. lix. Herodot. ubi ſupra.

[12] Strabo, l. ix. p. 611; and Herodot. ibid.

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they promiſed to march, with the utmoſt expedition, to the plains of Marathon.

Reinforced by the Platæans.

Meanwhile the Athenians had been reinforced by a thouſand choſen warriors from Platæa, a ſmall city of Bœotia, diſtant only nine miles from Thebes. The independent ſpirit of the Platæans rendered them as deſirous of preſerving their freedom, as they were unable to defend it againſt the Theban power. But that invaluable poſſeſſion, which their own weakneſs would have made it neceſſary for them to ſurrender, the protection of Athens enabled them to maintain, and, in return for this ineſtimable favour, they diſcovered towards their benefactors, on the preſent as well as on every future occaſion, the ſincereſt proofs of gratitude and reſpect. The Athenian army, now ready to take the field, conſiſted of about ten thouſand freemen, and of probably a ſtill greater number of armed ſlaves. The generals might certainly have collected a larger body of troops; but they ſeem to have been averſe to commit the ſafety of the ſtate to the fortune of a ſingle engagement; neither would it have been prudent to leave the walls of Athens, and the other fortreſſes of Attica, altogether naked and defenceleſs. It had been a matter of deliberation in the aſſembly, whether they ought not to ſtand a ſiege rather than venture a battle. The Athenian fortifications, indeed, had not attained that ſtrength which they afterwards acquired, yet they might have long reſiſted the artleſs aſſaults of the Perſians; or had the latter got poſſeſſion of the walls, the long, narrow, and winding

winding ſtreets [13] of Athens would have enabled a ſmall number of men to make an obſtinate, and perhaps a ſucceſsful defence, againſt a ſuperior but leſs determined enemy. But all hopes from this mode of reſiſtance were damped by the conſideration, that an immenſe hoſt of Perſians might ſurround their city on every ſide, intercept their ſupplies, and inſtead of conquering them by aſſault, reduce them by famine. At the ſame time Miltiades, one of the ten generals, whoſe patriotiſm and love of liberty we have already had occaſion to applaud, animated his countrymen with the deſire of victory and glory. This experienced commander knew the Perſians; he knew his fellow citizens; and his diſcerning ſagacity had formed a proper eſtimate of both.

The Athenians encouraged by Miltiades to riſk a battle.

The Athenians were few in number, but choſen men; their daily practice in the gymnaſtic had given them agility of limbs, dexterity of hand, and an unuſual degree of vigour both of mind and body. Their conſtant exerciſe in war had inured them to hardſhip and fatigue, accuſtomed them to the uſeful reſtraints of diſcipline, and familiariſed them to thoſe ſkilful evolutions which commonly decide the fortune of the field. Their defenſive as well as offenſive armour was remarkably complete; and an acknowledged pre-eminence over their neighbours, had inſpired them with a military enthuſiaſm, which on this occaſion was doubly animated, in defence of their freedom and of their

His motives explained in the military character of the Athenians.

[13] Ariſtotle informs us, that this was the ancient mode of building in all the cities of Greece. ARISTOT. Polit.

country.

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country. In their pertinacious ſtruggles with each other, for whatever men hold moſt precious, the Greeks, and the Athenians in particular, had adopted a mode of military arrangement which cannot be too highly extolled. Drawn up in a cloſe and firm phalanx, commonly ſixteen deep, the impetuous vigour of the moſt robuſt youth held the firſt ranks; the laſt were cloſed by the ſteady courage of experienced veterans, whoſe reſentment againſt cowardice ſeemed more terrible to their companions than the arms of an enemy. As the ſafety of the laſt ranks depended on the activity of the firſt, their united aſſaults were rendered alike furious and perſevering, and hardly to be reſiſted by any ſuperiority of numbers [14].

The

[14] The attention given by the Greeks to the relative diſpoſition of the ranks, according to the reſpective qualities of the men who compoſed them, introduced certain rules in ancient tactics, which would be unneceſſary in the modern. To convert the rear into the front, a modern army has only to face about, becauſe it is not very material in what order the ranks are placed. But we learn from the tactics of Arrian, that the Greek had contrived three other ways of performing this evolution, in all of which the ſame front was uniformly preſented to the enemy.—The firſt was called the *Macedonian*. In this evolution the file-leader faced to the right-about, without ſtirring from his place; the other men in the file paſſed behind him, and, after a certain number of paces, alſo faced about, and found themſelves in their reſpective places.—The ſecond was called the *Cretan*. In this the file-leader not only faced about, but paced over the depth of the phalanx. The reſt followed him, and the whole found themſelves in the ſame place as before, the ranks only reverſed.—The third was called the *Lacedæmonian*, which was preciſely the reverſe of the firſt. In the Lacedæmonian evolution the bringer-up, or laſt man in each file, whom the Greeks called ουραγος, faced about, then halted. The file-leader faced about, and paced over twice the depth of the phalanx, the reſt following him; the whole thus found themſelves

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and of the Perſians.

The Perſians (for under the name of Perſians are comprehended the various nations which followed the ſtandard of Datis and Artaphernes) were not deficient in martial appearance, nor perhaps intirely deſtitute of valour, being ſelected with care from the flower of the Aſiatic provinces. But, compared with the regularity of the Greek battalions, they may be regarded as a promiſcuous crowd, armed in each diviſion with the peculiar weapons of their reſpective countries, incapable of being harmonized by general movements, or united into any uniform ſyſtem of military arrangement. Darts and arrows were their uſual inſtruments of attack; and even the moſt completely armed truſted to ſome ſpecies of miſſile weapon. They carried in their left hands light targets of reed or oſier, and their bodies were ſometimes covered with thin plates of ſcaly metal; but they had not any defenſive armour worthy of being compared with the firm corſelets, the brazen greaves, the maſſy bucklers of their Athenian opponents. The braveſt of the Barbarians fought on horſeback;

themſelves with the ſame front towards the enemy, the ranks only reverſed. The difference between theſe three evolutions conſiſted in this, that the Macedonian, where the file-leader ſtood ſtill, and the reſt went behind him, had the appearance of a retreat; ſince the whole line receded by the depth of the phalanx from the enemy: in the Cretan, the men preſerved the ſame ground which they had originally occupied; but the Lacedæmonian carried the whole line, by the depth of the phalanx, forward on the enemy. Among the firſt military changes introduced by Philip of Macedon, hiſtorians mention his having adopted the Lacedæmonian evolution, for changing the front, in preference to that formerly uſed by his own countrymen.

but

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but in all ages the long Grecian ſpear has proved the ſureſt defence againſt the attack of cavalry, inſomuch that even the Romans, in fighting againſt the Numidian horſemen, preferred the ſtrength of the phalanx to the activity of the legion. The inferiority of their armour and of their diſcipline, was not the only defect of the Perſians; they wanted that ardour and emulation which, in the cloſe and deſperate engagements of ancient times, were neceſſary to animate the courage of a ſoldier. Their ſpirits were broken under the yoke of a double ſervitude, impoſed by the blind ſuperſtition of the Magi, and the capricious tyranny of Darius; with them their native-country was an empty name; and their minds, degraded by the mean vices of wealth and luxury, were inſenſible to the native charms, as well as the immortal reward of manly virtue.

Prudent conduct of Miltiades.

Miltiades allowed not, however, his contempt of the enemy, or his confidence in his own troops, to ſeduce him into a fatal ſecurity. Nothing on his part was neglected; and the only obſtacle to ſucceſs was fortunately removed by the diſintereſted moderation of his colleagues. The continual dread of tyrants had taught the jealous republicans of Greece to blend, on every occaſion, their civil with their military inſtitutions. Governed by this principle, the Athenians, as we already had occaſion to obſerve, elected ten generals, who were inveſted, each in his turn, with the ſupreme command. This regulation was extremely unfavourable to that unity of deſign which ought to pervade

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vade all the ſucceſſive operations of an army; an inconvenience which ſtruck the diſcerning mind of Ariſtides, who on this occaſion diſplayed the firſt openings of his illuſtrious character. The day approaching when it belonged to him to aſſume the ſucceſſive command, he generouſly yielded his authority[15] to the approved valour and experience of Miltiades. The other generals followed this magnanimous example, ſacrificing the dictates of private ambition to the intereſt and glory of their country; and the commander in chief thus enjoyed an opportunity of exerting, uncontrouled, the utmoſt vigour of his genius.

Generous patriotiſm of Ariſtides.

Leſt he ſhould be ſurrounded by a ſuperior force, he choſe for his camp the declivity of a hill, diſtant about a mile from the encampment of the enemy. The intermediate ſpace he cauſed to be ſtrewed in the night with the branches and trunks of trees, in order to interrupt the motion, and break the order of the Perſian cavalry, which in conſequence of this precaution ſeem to have been rendered incapable of acting in the engagement. In the morning his troops were drawn up in battle array, in a long and full line; the braveſt of the Athenians on the right, on the left the warriors of Plataea, and in the middle the ſlaves[16], who

Diſpoſition of both armies.

[15] Plutarch. in Ariſtid. tom. ii. p. 489.

[16] There is not any hiſtorian, indeed, who makes mention of this arrangement, although, by comparing the accounts of the havoc made in the centre, with the ſmall number of Athenian citizens who were ſlain, it is evident that the ſlaves muſt have been the greateſt ſufferers in the action, and therefore poſted as is ſaid in the text.

had

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had been admitted on this occaſion to the honour of bearing arms. By weakening his centre, the leaſt valuable part, he extended his front equal to that of the enemy: his rear was defended by the hill above mentioned, which, verging round to meet the ſea, likewiſe covered his right; his left was flanked by a lake or marſh. Datis, although he perceived the ſkilful diſpoſition of the Greeks, was yet too confident in the vaſt ſuperiority of his numbers to decline the engagement, eſpecially as he now enjoyed an opportunity of deciding the conteſt before the expected auxiliaries could arrive from Peloponneſus. When the Athenians ſaw the enemy in motion, they ran down the hill, with unuſual ardour, to encounter them; a circumſtance which proceeded, perhaps, from their eagerneſs to engage, but which muſt have been attended with the good conſequence of ſhortening the time of their expoſure to the ſlings and darts of the Barbarians.

Defeat of the Perſians in the battle of Marathon; Olymp. lxxii. 3. A.C. 490.

The two armies cloſed; the battle was rather fierce than long. The Perſian ſword and Scythian hatchet penetrated, or cut down, the centre of the Athenians; but the two wings, which compoſed the main ſtrength of the Grecian army, broke, routed, and put to flight the correſponding diviſions of the enemy. Inſtead of purſuing the vanquiſhed, they cloſed their extremities, and attacked the Barbarians who had penetrated their centre. The Grecian ſpear overcame all oppoſition; the braveſt of the Perſians periſhed in the field; the remainder were purſued with great ſlaughter; and ſuch was their terror and ſurpriſe, that they ſought

for

for refuge, not in their camp, but in their ſhips. The baniſhed tyrant of Athens fell in the engagement: two Athenian generals, and about two hundred citizens, were found among the ſlain: the Perſians left ſix thouſand of their beſt troops in the ſcene of action. Probably, a ſtill greater number were killed in the purſuit. The Greeks followed them to the ſhore; but the lightneſs of the Barbarian armour favoured their eſcape. Seven ſhips were taken; the reſt ſailed with a favourable gale, doubled the cape of Sunium; and, after a fruitleſs attempt to ſurpriſe the harbour of Athens, returned to the coaſt of Aſia [7].

who ſail to Aſia.

The loſs and diſgrace of the Perſians on this memorable occaſion, was compenſated by only one conſolation. They had been defeated in the engagement, compelled to abandon their camp, and driven ignominiouſly to their ſhips; but they carried with them to Aſia the Eretrian priſoners, who, in obedience to the orders of Darius, were ſafely conducted to Suſa. Theſe unhappy men had every reaſon to dread being treated as victims of royal reſentment; but when they were conducted in chains to the preſence of the great king, their reception was very different from what their fears naturally led them to expect. Whether reflection ſuggeſted to Darius the pleaſure which he might derive in peace, and the aſſiſtance which he might receive in war, from the arts and arms of the Eretrians, or that a ray of magnanimity for once

Unexpected treatment of the Eretrians.

[7] Herodot. l. vi. c. cxi. & ſeq.

enlight-

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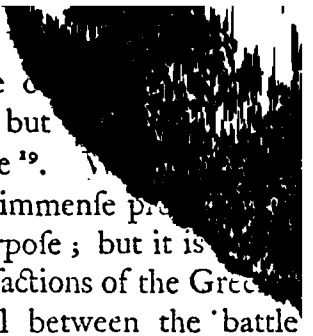
enlightened the ſoul of a deſpot, he ordered the Greeks to be immediately releaſed from captivity, and ſoon afterwards aſſigned them for their habitation the fertile diſtrict of Anderica, lying in the province of Ciſſia, in Suſiana, at the diſtance of only forty miles from the capital. There the colony remained in the time of Herodotus, preſerving their Grecian language and inſtitutions; and after a revolution of ſix centuries, their deſcendants were viſited by Apollonius Tyaneus [18], the celebrated Pythagorean philoſopher, and were ſtill diſtinguiſhed from the ſurrounding nations by the indubitable marks of European extraction.

Obſtacles to the ſecond invaſion of Greece.

When any diſaſter befel the Perſian arms, the great, and once independent, powers of the empire were ever ready to revolt. The neceſſity of watching the firſt ſymptoms of thoſe formidable rebellions gradually drew the troops of Darius from the coaſt of Leſſer Aſia; whoſe inhabitants, delivered from the oppreſſion of foreign mercenaries, reſumed their wonted ſpirit and activity; and except in paying, conjunctly with ſeveral neighbouring provinces, an annual contribution of about an hundred thouſand pounds, the Aſiatic Greeks were ſcarcely ſubjected to any proof of dependence. Diſputes concerning the ſucceſſion to the univerſal empire of the eaſt, the revolt of Egypt, and the death of Darius, retarded for ten years the reſolution formed by that prince, and adopted by his ſon and ſucceſſor Xerxes, of reſtoring the luſtre of the Perſian arms,

[18] Philoſtrat. in Vit. Apollon.

not



not only by taking vengeance o
obſtinacy of the Athenians, but
complete conqueſt of Europe [19].
occaſion fully to deſcribe the immenſe pr
which were made for this purpoſe; but it is
ſary firſt to examine the tranſactions of the Gre
during the important interval between the battle of Marathon and the expedition of Xerxes; and to explain the principal circumſtances which enabled a country, neither wealthy nor populous, to reſiſt the moſt formidable invaſion recorded in hiſtory.

The joy excited among the Athenians by a victory, which not only delivered them from the dread of their enemies, but raiſed them to diſtinguiſhed pre-eminence among their rivals and allies, is evident from a remarkable incident which happened immediately after the battle. As ſoon as fortune had viſibly declared in their favour, a ſoldier was diſpatched from the army to convey the welcome news to the capital. He ran with incredible velocity, and appeared, covered with duſt and blood, in the preſence of the ſenators. Exceſs of fatigue conſpired with the tranſports of enthuſiaſm to exhauſt the vigour of his frame. He had only time to exclaim, in two words, *Rejoice with the victors* [20], and immediately expired.

The ſentiments and behaviour of the Athenians in conſequence of their victory.

It is probable that the ſame ſpirit which animated this nameleſs patriot, was ſpeedily diffuſed through the whole community; and the Athenian

[19] Herodot. l. vii. c. i. & ii.

[20] Χαιρετε χαιρομεν.

[redacted] calculated to keep alive the [redacted]which ſucceſs had inſpired. Part [redacted]s gratefully dedicated to the gods; [redacted]der was appropriated as the juſt reward [redacted]it. The obſequies of the dead were cele[redacted]ed with ſolemn pomp; and according to an ancient and ſacred cuſtom, their fame was commemorated by annual returns of feſtive magnificence [21]. The honours beſtowed on thoſe who had fallen in the field, reflected additional luſtre on their companions who ſurvived the victory. In extenſive kingdoms, the praiſe of ſucceſsful valour is weakened by diffuſion; and ſuch too is the inequality between the dignity of the general and the meanneſs of the ſoldier, that the latter can ſeldom hope to attain, however well he may deſerve, his juſt proportion of military fame [22]. But the Grecian republics were ſmall; a perpetual rivalſhip ſubſiſted among them; and when any particular ſtate eclipſed the glory of its neighbours, the ſuperiority was ſenſibly felt by every member of the commonwealth.

Honours beſtowed on Miltiades;

That pre-eminence, which by the battle of Marathon Athens acquired in Greece, Miltiades, by his peculiar merit in that battle, attained in Athens. His valour and conduct were celebrated by the artleſs praiſes of the vulgar, as well as by the more

[21] Diodor. Sic. l. xi. Herodot. ubi ſupra.

[22] Plutarch. in Cimon. p. 187. & Æſchin. adverſ. Cteſiphont. p. 301. furniſh us with examples of the jealouſy of the Greeks, leſt the fame due to their troops in general ſhould be engroſſed by the commanders.

elaborate

elaborate encomiums of the learned. Before the æra of this celebrated engagement, tragedy, the unrivalled diſtinction of Athenian literature, had been invented and cultivated by the ſucceſsful labours of Theſpis, Phrynicus, and Æſchylus. The laſt, who is juſtly regarded as the great improver of the Grecian drama, diſplayed in the battle of Marathon the ſame martial ardour which ſtill breathes in his poetry. We may reaſonably imagine, that he would employ the higheſt flights of his fancy in extolling the glory of exploits in which he had himſelf borne ſo diſtinguiſhed a part; and particularly that he would exert all the powers of his lofty genius in celebrating the hero and patriot, whoſe enthuſiaſm had animated the battle, and whoſe ſuperior talents had inſured the victory. The name of the conqueror at Marathon re-echoed through the ſpacious theatres of Athens; which, though they had not yet acquired that ſolid and durable compoſition ſtill diſcernible in the ruins of ancient grandeur, were already built in a form ſufficiently capacious to contain the largeſt proportion of the citizens. The magnificent encomiums beſtowed on Miltiades in the preſence of his aſſembled countrymen, by whoſe conſenting voice they were repeated and approved, fired with emulation the young candidates for fame, while they enabled the general to obtain that mark of public confidence and eſteem which was the utmoſt ambition of all the Grecian leaders. CHAP. IX.

Theſe leaders, while they remained within the territories of their reſpective ſtates, were entruſted (as who is appointed to command the fleet.

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(as we already had occaſion to obſerve) with only that moderate authority which ſuited the equal condition of freedom. But when they were appointed to the command of the fleet in foreign parts, they obtained almoſt unlimited power, and might acquire immenſe riches. To this exalted ſtation Miltiades was advanced by the general ſuffrage of his country; and having ſailed with a fleet of ſeventy gallies, the whole naval ſtrength of the republic, he determined to expel the Perſian garriſons from the iſles of the Ægean; to reduce the ſmaller communities to the obedience of Athens, and to ſubject the more wealthy and powerful to heavy contributions.

Beſieges Paros unſucceſſfully.

The firſt operations of the Athenian armament were crowned with ſucceſs: ſeveral iſlands were ſubdued, conſiderable ſums of money were collected. But the fleet arriving before Paros, every thing proved adverſe to the Athenians. Miltiades, who had received a perſonal injury from Tiſagoras, a man of great authority in that iſland, yielded to the dictates of private reſentment, and confounding the innocent with the guilty, demanded from the Parians the ſum of an hundred talents (near twenty thouſand pounds ſterling). If the money were not immediately paid, he threatened to lay waſte their territory, to burn their city, and to teach them by cruel experience the ſtern rights of a conqueror. The exorbitancy of the demand rendered compliance with it impoſſible; the Parians prepared for their defence, guided however by the motives of a generous deſpair, rather than by any well-

well-grounded hope of reſiſting the invaders. For twenty-ſix days they maintained poſſeſſion of the capital of the iſland, which the Athenians, after ravaging all the adjacent country, beſieged by ſea and land. The time now approached when Paros muſt have ſurrendered to a ſuperior force; but it was the good fortune of the iſlanders, that an extenſive grove, which happened to be ſet on fire in one of the Sporades, was believed by the beſiegers to indicate the approach of a Perſian fleet. The ſame opinion gained ground among the Parians, who determined, by their utmoſt efforts, to preſerve the place, until they ſhould be relieved by the aſſiſtance of their protectors. Miltiades had received a dangerous wound during the ſiege; and the weakneſs of his body impairing the faculties of his mind, and rendering him too ſenſible to the impreſſions of fear, he gave orders to draw off his victorious troops, and returned with the whole fleet to Athens.

Accuſed by his enemies.

His conduct in the preſent expedition ill correſponded to his former fame; and he ſoon experienced the inſtability of popular favour. The Athenian citizens, and particularly the more eminent and illuſtrious, had univerſally their rivals and enemies. The competitions for civil offices, or military command, occaſioned eternal animoſities among thoſe jealous republicans. Xantippus, a perſon of great diſtinction, and father of the celebrated Pericles, who in the ſucceeding age obtained the firſt rank in the Athenian government, eagerly ſeized an opportunity of depreſſing the character of a man which had ſo long overtopped

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that of every competitor. Miltiades was accuſed of being corrupted by a Perſian bribe to raiſe the ſiege of Paros; the precipitancy with which he abandoned the place, ſo unlike to the general firmneſs of his manly behaviour, gave a probable colour to the accuſation; and the continual terror which, ever ſince the uſurpation of Piſiſtratus, the Athenians entertained of arbitrary power, diſpoſed them to condemn, upon very ſlight evidence, a man whoſe abilities and renown ſeemed to endanger the ſafety of the commonwealth. The crime laid to his charge inferred death, a puniſhment which his accuſer inſiſted ought to be immediately inflicted on him. But his judges were contented with fining him the ſum of fifty talents (near ten thouſand pounds ſterling), which being unable to pay, he was thrown into priſon, where he ſoon after died of his wounds.

His death.

Honours beſtowed on his memory.

But the glory of Miltiades ſurvived him; and the Athenians, however unjuſt to his perſon, were not unmindful of his fame. At the diſtance of half a century, when the battle of Marathon was painted by order of the ſtate, they directed the figure of Miltiades to be placed in the fore-ground, animating the troops to victory: a reward which, during the virtuous ſimplicity of the ancient commonwealth, conferred more real honour, than all that magnificent profuſion of crowns and ſtatues [23], which in the later times of the republic were rather extorted by general fear, than beſtowed by public admiration.

[23] Æſchin. p. 301. & Polybius paſſim.

The

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His ſucceſſors in command.

The jealouſies, reſentments, dangers, and calamities, which often attend power and pre-eminence, have never yet proved ſufficient to deter an ambitious mind from the purſuit of greatneſs. The rivals of Miltiades were animated by the glory of his elevation, not depreſſed by the example of his fall. His accuſer Xantippus, though he had acted the principal part in removing this favourite of the people, was not deemed worthy to ſucceed him. Two candidates appeared for the public confidence and eſteem, who alternately outſtripped each other in the race of ambition, and whoſe characters deſerve attention even in general hiſtory, as they had a powerful influence on the fortune, not of Athens only, but of all Greece.

Compariſon of Ariſtides and Themiſtocles.

Ariſtides and Themiſtocles were nearly of the ſame age, and equally noble, being born in the firſt rank of citizens, though not of royal deſcent, like Solon and Piſiſtratus, Iſagoras and Cliſthenes, Xantippus and Miltiades, who had hitherto ſucceſſively aſſumed the chief adminiſtration of the Athenian republic. Both had been named among the generals who commanded in the battle of Marathon. The diſintereſted behaviour of Ariſtides on this memorable occaſion has been already mentioned. It afforded a promiſe of his future fame. But his dawning glories were ſtill eclipſed by the meridian luſtre of Miltiades. After the death of this great man, Ariſtides ought naturally to have ſucceeded to his influence, as he was eminently diſtinguiſhed by valour and moderation, the two great virtues of a republican. Formed in ſuch

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ſchools of moral and political knowledge as then flouriſhed in Athens, he had learned to prefer glory to pleaſure; the intereſt of his country to his own perſonal glory; and the dictates of juſtice and humanity, even to the intereſts of his country. His ambition was rather to deſerve, than to acquire, the admiration of his fellow-citizens; and while he enjoyed the inward ſatisfaction, he was little anxious about the external rewards of virtue. The character of Themiſtocles was of a more doubtful kind. The trophy, which Miltiades had raiſed at Marathon, diſturbed his reſt. He was inflamed with a deſire to emulate the glory of this exploit; and while he enabled Athens to maintain a ſuperiority in Greece, he was ambitious to acquire for himſelf a ſuperiority in Athens. His talents were well adapted to accompliſh both theſe purpoſes; eloquent, active, enterpriſing, he had ſtrengthened his natural endowments by all the force of education and habit. Laws, government, revenue, and arms, every branch of political and military knowledge, were the great objects of his ſtudy. In the courts of juſtice he ſucceſsfully diſplayed his abilities in defence of his private friends, or in accuſing the enemies of the ſtate. He was forward to give his opinion upon every matter of public deliberation; and his advice, founded in wiſdom, and ſupported by eloquence, commonly prevailed in the aſſembly. Yet with all theſe great qualities, his mind was leſs ſmit with the native charms of virtue, than captivated with her ſplendid ornaments. Glory was the idol which he adored.

adored. He could injure, without remorſe, the general cauſe of the confederacy, in order to promote the grandeur of Athens[24]; and hiſtory ſtill leaves it as doubtful, as did his own conduct, whether, had an opportunity offered, he would not have ſacrificed the happineſs of his country to his private intereſt and ambition. CHAP. IX.

The diſcernment of Ariſtides perceived the danger of allowing a man of ſuch equivocal merit to be entruſted with the ſole government of the republic; and on this account, rather than from any motives of perſonal animoſity, he oppoſed every meaſure that might contribute to his elevation. In this patriotic view, he frequently ſolicited the ſame honours which were ambitiouſly courted by Themiſtocles, eſpecially when no other candidate appeared capable of balancing the credit of the latter. A rivalſhip thus began, and long continued between them[25]; and the whole people of Athens could alone decide the much conteſted pre-eminence. The intereſt of Themiſtocles ſo far prevailed over the authority of his opponent, that he procured his own nomination to the command of the fleet; with which he effected the conqueſt of the ſmall iſlands in the Ægean, and thus completed the deſign undertaken by Miltiades. While *he* acquired fame and fortune abroad, Ariſtides increaſed his popularity at home. The oppoſition to his power, ariſing from the ſplendid Their rivalſhip.

24 Plutarch. in Themiſtocle & Ariſtide.

25 Plutarch. ibid. Herodot. l. viii. c. lxxix.

eloquence

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eloquence and popular manners of his rival was now fortunately removed, and he became the chief leader of the people. His opinion gave law to the courts of juſtice, or rather ſuch was the effect of his equity and diſcernment, he alone became ſovereign umpire in Athens. In all important differences he was choſen arbitrator, and the ordinary judges were deprived of the dignity and advantages formerly reſulting from their office. This conſequence of his authority, offending the pride of the Athenian magiſtrates, was ſufficient to excite their reſentment, which, of itſelf, might have effected the ruin of any individual.

Ariſtides baniſhed. Olymp. lxxiii. 3. A. C. 486.

But their views on this occaſion were powerfully promoted by the triumphant return of Themiſtocles from his naval expedition. The admiral had acquired conſiderable riches; but wealth he deſpiſed, except as an inſtrument of ambition. The ſpoils of the conquered iſlanders were profuſely laviſhed in ſhows, feſtivals, dances, and theatrical entertainments, exhibited for the public amuſement. His generous manners and flowing affability were contraſted with the ſtern dignity of his rival; and the reſult of the compariſon added great force to his inſinuation, that, ſince his own neceſſary abſence in the ſervice of the republic, Ariſtides had acquired a degree of influence inconſiſtent with the conſtitution, and, by arrogating to himſelf an univerſal and unexampled juriſdiction in the ſtate, had eſtabliſhed a ſilent tyranny, without pomp or guards, over the minds of his fellow-citizens. Ariſtides, truſting to the innocence and integrity

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of his own heart, diſdained to employ any unworthy means, either for gaining the favour, or for averting the reſentment, of the multitude. The conteſt, therefore, ended in his baniſhment for ten years, by a law entitled the Oſtraciſm (from the name of the materials [26] on which the votes were marked), by which the majority of the Athenian aſſembly might expel any citizen, however inoffenſive or meritorious had been his paſt conduct, who, by his preſent power and greatneſs, ſeemed capable of diſturbing the equality of republican government. This ſingular inſtitution, which had been eſtabliſhed ſoon after the Athenians had delivered themſelves from the tyranny of Hippias, the ſon of Piſiſtratus, was evidently intended to prevent any perſon in future from attaining the ſame unlawful authority. At Athens, even virtue was proſcribed, when it ſeemed to endanger the public freedom; and only four years after the battle of Marathon, in which he had diſplayed equal valour and wiſdom, Ariſtides, the juſteſt and moſt reſpectable of the Greeks, became the victim of popular jealouſy [27]; an example of cruel rigour, which will for ever brand the ſpirit of democratical policy.

The great aſcendant acquired by Themiſtocles;

The baniſhment of Ariſtides expoſed the Athenians ſtill more than formerly to the danger which they hoped to avoid by this ſevere meaſure. The removal of ſuch a formidable opponent enabled Themiſtocles to govern without controul. Army,

[26] Ὀστρακον, a ſhell.

[27] Plutarch. & Herodot. ibid.

navy,

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navy, and revenue, all were ſubmitted to his inſpection. It happened, indeed, moſt fortunately for the fame of this great man, as well as for the liberty of Athens, that his active ambition was called to the glorious taſk of ſubduing the enemies of his country. The ſmaller iſlands in the Ægean were already reduced to obedience, but the poſſeſſion of them was uncertain while the fleet of Ægina covered the ſea, and bid defiance to that of the Athenians. This ſmall iſland, or rather this rock, inhabited time immemorial by merchants and pirates, and ſituate in the Saronic Gulph, which divides the territories of Attica from the northern ſhores of Peloponneſus, was a formidable enemy to the republic; the jealouſy of commerce and naval power embittered their mutual hoſtility; and as the inhabitants of Ægina, who were governed by a few leading men, had entered into an alliance with the Perſians, there was every circumſtance united which could provoke, to the utmoſt, the hatred and reſentment of the Athenians.

who perſuades the Athenians to augment their navy.

A motive leſs powerful than the exceſs of republican antipathy could not probably have prevailed on them to embrace the meaſure which they now adopted by the advice of Themiſtocles. There was a conſiderable revenue ariſing from the ſilver mines of mount Laurium, which had been hitherto employed in relieving the private wants of the citizens, or diſſipated in their public amuſements. This annual income Themiſtocles perſuaded them to deſtine to the uſeful purpoſe of building ſhips of war, by which they might ſeize or deſtroy the fleet of

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of Ægina. The propoſal was approved; an hundred gallies were equipped; the naval ſtrength of Ægina was broken, and ſucceſs animated the Athenians to aſpire at obtaining the unrivalled empire of the ſea. Corcyra formed the only remaining obſtacle to their ambition. This iſland which, under the name of Phœacia, is celebrated by Homer for its amazing riches and fertility, had been ſtill further improved by a colony of Corinthians. It extends an hundred miles along the weſtern ſhores of Epirus, and the natural abundance of its productions, the convenience of its harbours, and the adventurous ſpirit of its new inhabitants, gave them an indiſputed advantage over their neighbours, in navigation and commerce. They became ſucceſſively the rivals, the enemies, and the ſuperiors of Corinth, their mother-country; and their ſucceſsful cruiſers infeſted the coaſts, and diſturbed the communication of the iſlands and continent of Greece. It belonged to Athens, who had ſo lately puniſhed the perfidy of Ægina, to chaſtiſe the inſolence of the Corcyreans. The naval depredations of theſe iſlanders made them be regarded as common enemies; and Themiſtocles [28], when, by ſeizing part of their fleet, he broke the ſinews of their power, not only gratified the ambition of his republic, but performed a ſignal ſervice to the whole Grecian confederacy.

They defeat the fleets of Ægina and Corcyra.

Victorious by ſea and land againſt Greeks and Barbarians, Athens might now ſeem entitled to

Strength and ſpirit of Athens.

[28] Plutarch. in Themiſt. Thucydid. lib. i. Corn. Nepos, in Themiſt.

enjoy

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enjoy the fruits of a glorious ſecurity. It was generally believed in Greece, that the late diſaſters of the Perſians would deter them from invading, a ſecond time, the coaſts of Europe. But Themiſtocles, who, in the words of a moſt accompliſhed hiſtorian [29], was no leſs ſagacious in foreſeeing the future, than ſkilful in managing the preſent, regarded the battle of Marathon, not as the end of the war, but as the prelude to new and more glorious combats. He continually exhorted his fellow-citizens to keep themſelves in readineſs for action; above all, to increaſe, with unremitting aſſiduity, the ſtrength of their fleet; and, in conſequence of this judicious advice, the Athenians were enabled to oppoſe the immenſe armaments of Xerxes, of which the moſt formidable tidings ſoon arrived from every quarter, with two hundred gallies of a ſuperior ſize and conſtruction to any hitherto known in Greece [30].

State of the other republics immediately preceding the invaſion of Xerxes.

This fleet proved the ſafety of Greece, and prevented a country, from which the knowledge of laws, learning, and civility was deſtined to flow over Europe, from becoming a province of the Perſian empire, and being confounded with the maſs of barbarous nations. While the Athenians were led, by the circumſtances which we have endeavoured to explain, to prepare this uſeful engine of defence, the other Grecian ſtates afford, in their unimportant tranſactions, few materials for hiſtory [31]. The Spartans had long preſerved an

[29] Thucydides, ibid. [30] Plato, l. iii. de Leg.
[31] Herodot. l. vii. Diodor. l. xi.

unrivalled

unrivalled aſcendant in Peloponneſus; and their CHAP. IX.
pre-eminence was ſtill farther confirmed by the unequal and unfortunate oppoſition of the Argives. Many bloody and deſperate engagements had been fought between theſe warlike and high-ſpirited rivals: but, before the Perſian invaſion, the ſtrength of Argos was much exhauſted by repeated defeats, particularly by the deſtructive battle of Thyræa, in which ſhe loſt ſix thouſand of her braveſt citizens. The Spartans alſo carried on occaſional hoſtilities againſt the Corinthians and Achæans, the inhabitants of Elis and Arcadia; and theſe ſeveral republics frequently decided their pretenſions in the field; but neither their conteſts with each other, nor their wars with Sparta, were attended with any conſiderable or permanent effects. Their perpetual hoſtilities with foreign ſtates ought to have given internal quiet to the Spartans; yet the jealouſy of power, or the oppoſition of character, occaſioned incurable diſſenſion between the two firſt magiſtrates of the republic, Cleomenes and Demaratus. By the intrigues of the former, his rival was unjuſtly depoſed from the royal dignity. Leotychides, his kinſman and ſucceſſor in the throne, inſulted his misfortunes; and Demaratus, unable to endure contempt in a country where he had enjoyed a crown, ſought for that protection which was denied him in Greece, from the power and reſentment of Perſia. Cleomenes ſoon afterwards died by his own hand, after vainly ſtruggling againſt the ſtings of remorſe, which perſecuted his ungenerous treatment of a worthy colleague.

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colleague[32]. He was ſucceeded by the heroic Leonidas, whoſe death (as ſhall be related) at Thermopylæ, was ſtill more illuſtrious and happy than that of Cleomenes was wretched and infamous. During the domeſtic diſturbances of Sparta, the other ſtates of Peloponneſus enjoyed a relaxation from the toils of war. The Arcadians and Argives tended their flocks, and cultivated their ſoil. Elis was contented with the ſuperintendence of the Olympic games, the Corinthians increaſed and abuſed the wealth which they had already acquired by their fortunate ſituation between two ſeas, and by long continuing the centre of the internal commerce of Greece. Of the republics beyond the iſthmus, the Phocians wiſhed to enjoy, in tranquillity, the ſplendour and riches which their whole territory derived from the celebrated temple of Delphi. They were frequently diſturbed, however, by invaſions from Theſſaly; the inhabitants of which, though numerous and warlike, yet being ſituated at the extremity of Greece, ſtill continued, like the Etolians, barbarous and uncultivated[33]. The Thebans maintained and extended their uſurpations over the ſmaller cities of Bœotia, and rejoiced that the ambition of the Athenians, directed to the command of the ſea and the conqueſt of diſtant iſlands, prevented that aſpiring people from giving the ſame minute attention as uſual to the affairs of the continent. The other republics were inconſiderable, and commonly followed the for-

Of the colonies.

[32] Herodot. v. 75.

[33] Thucydid. l. i.

tunes

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tunes of their more powerful neighbours. The Aſiatic colonies were reduced under the Perſian yoke; the Greek eſtabliſhments in Thrace and Macedon paid tribute to Xerxes; but the African Greeks bravely maintained their independence; and the flouriſhing ſettlements in Italy and Sicily were now acting a part which will be explained hereafter, and which rivalled, perhaps ſurpaſſed, the glory of Athens and Sparta in the Perſian war[34].

The preparations of Xerxes for invading Greece. Olymp. lxxiv. 4. A. C. 481.

Meanwhile the reduction of revolted provinces had given employment and luſtre to the Perſian arms. Nine years after the battle of Marathon, and in the fourth year of his reign, Xerxes found himſelf uncontrouled maſter of the Eaſt, and in poſſeſſion of ſuch a fleet and army as flattered him with the hopes of univerſal empire. The three laſt years of Darius were ſpent in preparing for the Grecian expedition. Xerxes, who ſucceeded to his ſceptre and to his revenge, dedicated four years more to the ſame hoſtile purpoſe. Amidſt his various wars and pleaſures, he took care that the artiſans of Egypt and Phœnicia, as well as of all the maritime provinces of Lower Aſia, ſhould labour, with unremitting diligence, in fitting out an armament adequate to the extent of his ambition. Twelve hundred ſhips of war, and three thouſand ſhips of burthen, were at length ready to receive his commands. The former were of a larger ſize and firmer conſtruction than any

34 Diodor. l. xi. c. xvi. & xvii.

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hitherto ſeen in the ancient world: they carried on board, at a medium, two hundred ſeamen, and thirty Perſians who ſerved as marines. The ſhips of burthen contained, in general, eighty men, fewer being found incapable of rowing them. The whole amounted to four thouſand two hundred ſhips, and about five hundred thouſand men, who were ordered to rendezvous in the moſt ſecure roads and harbours of Ionia. We are not exactly informed of the number of the land forces, which were aſſembled at Suſa. It is certain, however, that they were extremely numerous, and it is probable that they would continually increaſe on the march from Suſa to Sardis, by the confluence of many tributary nations, to the imperial ſtandard of Xerxes.

Their magnitude.

When the army had attained its perfect complement, we are told that it conſiſted of ſeventeen hundred thouſand infantry, and four hundred thouſand cavalry; which, joined to the fleet above mentioned, made the whole forces amount to near two millions of fighting men. An immenſe crowd of women and eunuchs followed the camp of an effeminate people. Theſe inſtruments of pleaſure and luxury, together with the ſlaves neceſſary in tranſporting the baggage and proviſions, equalled, perhaps exceeded [35], the number of the ſoldiers; ſo

35 A military friend has favoured me with the actual return of an army ſerving under Britiſh officers in the Eaſt:

Officers and troops,	6,727
Servants and followers,	19,779

that,

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that, according to the univerſal teſtimony of ancient hiſtorians, the army of Xerxes appears the greateſt that was ever collected[36].

But many circumſtances ſerve to prove that its ſtrength by no means correſponded to its magnitude. The various nations which compoſed it, were not divided into regular bodies, properly diſciplined and officered. Their muſter-roll was taken in a manner that is remarkable for its ſimplicity. Ten thouſand men were ſeparated from the reſt, formed into a compact body, and ſurrounded by a paliſade. The whole army paſſed ſucceſſively into this incloſure, and were thus numbered like cattle, without the formality of placing them in ranks, or of calling their names.

Xerxes, having wintered at Sardis, ſent ambaſſadors early in the ſpring to demand earth and water, as a mark of ſubmiſſion, from the ſeveral Grecian republics. With regard to Athens and Sparta, he thought it unneceſſary to obſerve this ceremony, as they had treated, with the moſt inhuman cruelty, and in direct contradiction to their own laws of war, the meſſengers intruſted with a ſimilar commiſſion by his father Darius. The

Xerxes paſſes the Helleſpont. Olymp. lxxv. 1. A. C. 480.

36 Herodot. l. vii. c. lxxxix. & ſeq. enters into a circumſtantial detail of the Perſian forces. His account is confirmed, with leſs difference than uſual in ſuch caſes, by Lyſias Orat. Funeb. Iſocrat. Panegyr. Diodor. l. xi. p. 244. He repeatedly expreſſes his aſtoniſhment at the immenſity of the Barbarian hoſts. He appears fully ſenſible of the difficulties with which they had to ſtruggle, in order to procure proviſions. His account of the Grecian fleet and army is acknowledged to be faithful and exact in the higheſt degree; circumſtances which all ſtrongly confirm the credibility of his evidence.

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ſlow march of his immenſe army, and, ſtill more, its tedious tranſportation acroſs the ſeas which ſeparate Europe from Aſia, ill ſuited the rapid violence of his revenge. Xerxes therefore ordered a bridge of boats to be raiſed on the Helleſpont, which, in the narroweſt part, is only ſeven ſtadia or ſeven-eighths of a mile in breadth. Here the bridge was formed with great labour; but whether owing to the awkwardneſs of its conſtruction, or to the violence of a ſucceeding tempeſt, it was no ſooner built than deſtroyed. The great king ordered the directors of the work to be beheaded; and, proud of his tyrannic power over feeble man, diſplayed an impotent rage againſt the elements. In all the madneſs of deſpotiſm he commanded the Helleſpont to be puniſhed with three hundred ſtripes, and a pair of fetters to be dropped into the ſea, adding theſe frantic and ridiculous expreſſions: "It is thus, thou ſalt and bitter water, that thy maſter puniſhes thy unprovoked injury, and he is determined to paſs thy treacherous ſtreams notwithſtanding all the inſolence of thy malice[37]." After this abſurd ceremony, a new bridge was made of a double range of veſſels, fixed by ſtrong anchors on both ſides, and joined together by cables of hemp and reed, faſtened to immenſe beams driven into the oppoſite ſhores. The decks of the veſſels, which exceeded ſix hundred in number, were ſtrewed with trunks of trees and earth, and their ſurface was ſtill farther ſmoothed by a

37 Herodot. vii. 35.

covering

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covering of planks. The ſides were then railed with wicker work, to prevent the fear and impatience of the horſes; and upon this ſingular edifice the main ſtrength of the army paſſed in ſeven days and nights, from the Aſiatic city of Abydos to that of Seſtos in Europe [38].

Cuts a canal through the iſthmus of Sana.

But before this general tranſportation, a conſiderable part of the forces had been already ſent to the coaſt of Macedonia, in order to dig acroſs the iſthmus which joins to that coaſt the high promontory of Athos. The diſaſter which befel the fleet commanded by Mardonius, in doubling the cape of this celebrated peninſula, was ſtill preſent to the mind of Xerxes. The neck of land, only a mile and a half in breadth, was adorned by the Grecian city of Sana; and the promontory being rich and fertile, was well inhabited by both Greeks and Barbarians. The cutting of this narrow iſthmus, by a canal of ſufficient width to allow two gallies to ſail abreaſt, was a matter not beyond the power of a potentate who commanded the labour of ſo many myriads [39]; but it is obſerved by Hero-

38 Herodot. l. vii. c. lvi.

39 Herodot. l. vii. c. xxi. & ſeq. & Diodor. l. xi. c. ii. It is difficult to ſay, whether we ought moſt to condemn the ſwelling exaggeration with which Lyſias, Iſocrates, and other writers, ſpeak of theſe operations of Xerxes, which they call, "navigating the land, and walking the ſea," or the impudent incredulity of Juvenal:

——creditur olim
Velificatus Athos, & quidquid Græcia mendax,
Audet in hiſtoria; conſtratum claſſibus iiſdem
Suppoſitumque rotis ſolidum mare.——

Nothing is better fitted to perpetuate error than the ſmart ſentence of a ſatiriſt. A line of the ſame Juvenal has branded Cicero as a bad

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Herodotus, to have been a work of more oſtentation than utility, as the veſſels might, according to the cuſtom of the age, have been conveyed over land with greater expedition, and with leſs trouble and expence. The eaſtern workmen were in general ſo extremely unacquainted with operations of this kind, that they made the opening at the ſurface of the ground of the ſame breadth with that neceſſary at the bottom of the channel. In order to excite their diligence by national emulation, a particular portion of the ground was aſſigned to each diſtinction of people engaged in this undertaking. The Phœnicians alone, by giving a proper width at the top, avoided the inconvenience of ſubmitting to a double labour. In performing this, and every other taſk, the ſoldiers of Xerxes were kept to their work by ſtripes and blows; a circumſtance which gives us as mean an opinion of their ſpirit and activity, as all that has been already related, gives us of their ſkill and diſcipline.

Xerxes reviews his forces near Doriſcus.

The Perſian forces were now ſafely conducted into Europe; and the chief obſtacle to the eaſy navigation of their fleet along the coaſts of Thrace, Macedon, and Theſſaly, to the centre of the Gre-

poet, though that univerſal literary genius left admirable verſes behind him, which have been tranſmitted to modern times. The digging of the canal of Athos is ſupported by the uniform teſtimony of all antiquity, and might be credited on the ſingle evidence of Thucydides (l. iv. c. cix.), the moſt faithful, accurate, and impartial of all hiſtorians, ancient or modern; and who himſelf lived long in the neighbourhood of Athos, where he had an eſtate, and was director of the Athenian mines in Thrace; as will appear hereafter.

cian

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cian ſtates, was removed by the dividing of mount Athos. Through the fertile plains of Leſſer Aſia the whole army had kept in a body; but the difficulty of ſupplies obliged them to ſeparate into three diviſions in their march through the leſs cultivated countries of Europe. Before this ſeparation took place, the whole fleet and army were reviewed by Xerxes, near Doriſcus, a city of Thrace, at the mouth of the river Hebrus. Such an immenſe collection of men aſſembled in arms, and attended with every circumſtance of martial magnificence, gave an opportunity for ſeeing, or at leaſt for ſuppoſing, many affecting ſcenes. The ambition of the great king had torn him from his palace of Suſa, but it could not tear him from the objects of his affection, and the miniſters of his pleaſure. He was followed by his women, and by his flatterers[40], and all the effeminate pride of a court was blended with the pomp of war. While the great body of the army lay every night in the open air, Xerxes and his attendants were provided with magnificent tents. The ſplendour of his chariots, the mettle of his horſes, which far excelled the ſwifteſt racers of Theſſaly, the unexampled number of his troops, and above all, the bravery of the immortal band, a body of ten thouſand Perſian cavalry, ſo named becauſe their number was conſtantly maintained from the flower of the whole army, ſeemed ſufficient, to the admiring crowd, to raiſe the glory of their ſovereign above

His ſplendour.

[40] Plato de Legibus, l. iii. p. 536.

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the condition of humanity; eſpecially ſince, among ſo many thouſands of men as paſſed in review, none could be compared to Xerxes in ſtrength, in beauty, or in ſtature [41].

and miſery.

But amidſt this ſplendour of external greatneſs, Xerxes felt himſelf unhappy. Having aſcended an eminence to view his camp and fleet, his pride was humbled with the reflection, that no one of all the innumerable hoſt could ſurvive an hundred years. The haughty monarch of Aſia was melted into tears. The converſation of his kinſman and counſellor, Artabanus, was ill calculated to conſole his melancholy. That reſpectable old man, whoſe wiſdom had often moderated the youthful ardour of Xerxes, and who had been as aſſiduous to prevent, as Mardonius had been to promote, the Grecian war, took notice that the miſery of human life was an object far more lamentable than its ſhortneſs. "In the narrow ſpace allotted them, has not every one of theſe in our preſence, and indeed the whole human race, often wiſhed rather to die than to live? The tumult of paſſions diſturbs the beſt of our days; diſeaſes and weakneſs accompany old age; and death, ſo vainly dreaded, is the ſure and hoſpitable refuge of wretched mortals."

He converſes with Demaratus, the baniſhed king of Sparta,

Xerxes was not of a diſpoſition ſteadily to contemplate the dictates of experience and the maxims of philoſophy. He endeavoured to divert thoſe gloomy reflections which he could not re-

[41] Herodot. l. vii. c. clxxxiv.

move,

move, by amuſing his fancy with horſe-races, mock-battles, and other favourite entertainments. In the intervals of theſe diverſions, he ſometimes converſed with Demaratus, the baniſhed king of Sparta, who, as we have already mentioned, had ſought refuge in the Perſian court, from the perſecution of his countrymen. A memorable interview between them is deſcribed by Herodotus. The Perſian, diſplaying oſtentatiouſly the magnitude of his power, aſked the royal fugitive, Whether he ſuſpected the Greeks would yet venture to take the field, in order to oppoſe the progreſs of his arms? Demaratus replied, that if he might ſpeak without giving offence, he was of opinion that the Perſians would meet with a very vigorous reſiſtance. "Greece had been trained in the ſevere, but uſeful ſchool of neceſſity; poverty was her nurſe and her mother; ſhe had acquired patience and valour by the early application of diſcipline; and ſhe was habituated to the practice of virtue by the watchful attention of the law. All the Greeks were warlike, but the Spartans were peculiarly brave. It was unneceſſary to aſk their number, for if they exceeded not a thouſand men, they would defend their country and their freedom againſt the aſſembled myriads of Aſia [42].

Xerxes was rather amuſed than inſtructed by this diſcourſe. His hopes of ſucceſs ſeemed built on too ſolid principles to be ſhaken by the opinion of a prejudiced Greek. Every day meſſengers

Receives the ſubmiſſion of many Grecian communities.

[42] Herodot. l. vii. c. cii. & ſeq.

arrived

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arrived with the ſubmiſſion of new nations. The inhabitants of the rocky country of Doris, many tribes of Theſſaly, the mountaineers of Pindus, Oſſa, Pelion, and Olympus, which like a lofty rampart ſurround that country, offered the uſual preſent of earth and water, as the ſymbol of ſurrendering their territories to a power which it ſeemed vain to reſiſt. Theſe diſtricts formed only the northern frontier of Greece. But what gave peculiar pleaſure to Xerxes, the Thebans who inhabited the central parts, and all the cities of Bœotia, except Theſpiæ and Platæa, privately ſent ambaſſadors to teſtify their good-will to his cauſe, and to requeſt the honour of his friendſhip.

Meaſures of the Athenians and their confederates.

Meanwhile thoſe Grecians, who, unmoved by the terrors of invaſion, obeyed the voice of liberty and their country, had ſent deputies to the iſthmus of Corinth, to deliberate about the common intereſt. They conſiſted of repreſentatives from the ſeveral ſtates of Peloponneſus, and from the moſt conſiderable republics beyond that peninſula. By common conſent, they ſuſpended their domeſtic animoſities, recalled their fugitives, conſulted their oracles, and diſpatched ambaſſadors, in the name of united Greece, to demand aſſiſtance from the iſlands of Crete, Cyprus, and Corcyra, as well as from the Grecian colonies on the coaſts of Italy and Sicily. All their meaſures were carried on with great appearance of unanimity and concord. Even the Thebans, careful to conceal their treachery, had ſent repreſentatives to the common council. The general danger ſeemed to unite and harmonize

harmonize the moſt diſcordant members: and although the perpetual diſſenſions between rival ſtates, frequently weakened the authority of the Amphictyonic confederacy, it appeared on the preſent, as on many other occaſions, that the Greeks acknowledged the obligation of a tacit alliance to defend each other againſt domeſtic tyrants and foreign barbarians. CHAP. IX.

Before they had an opportunity of learning the will of the gods, or of diſcovering the intentions of their diſtant allies, ambaſſadors arrived from thoſe communities of Theſſaly which ſtill adhered to the intereſt of Greece, praying a ſpeedy and effectual aſſiſtance to guard the narrow paſſes which lead into their country. There is a valley near the coaſt of the Egean, between the lofty mountains of Oſſa and Olympus, which afforded the moſt convenient paſſage from Macedon into Theſſaly. This ſingular ſpot, commonly called the valley of Tempé, is about five miles in length, and, where narroweſt, ſcarcely an hundred paces in breadth; but is adorned by the hand of nature with every object that can gratify the ſenſes or delight the fancy. The gently-flowing Peneus[43] interſects the middle of the plain. Its waters are increaſed

The Theſſalians crave their aſſiſtance.

The valley of Tempé.

[43] I know not why Ovid ſays,

Peneus ab imo
Effuſus Pindo *ſpumoſis* volvitur *undis*.
Metam. l. i. ver. 570.

Ælian (from whom the deſcription in the text is taken) ſays, that the Peneus flows

Δικην ελαιῳ, ſmooth as oil.

by

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by perennial caſcades from the green mountains, and thus rendered of ſufficient depth for veſſels of conſiderable burden. The rocks are every where planted with vines and olives, and the banks of the river, and even the river itſelf, are overſhadowed with lofty foreſt trees, which defend thoſe who ſail upon it from the ſun's meridian ardour. The innumerable grottoes and arbours careleſsly ſcattered over this delightful ſcene, and watered by fountains of peculiar freſhneſs and ſalubrity, invite the weary traveller to repoſe; while the muſical warbling of birds conſpires with the fragrant odour of plants to ſooth his ſenſes, and to heighten the pleaſure which the eye and fancy derive from viewing the charming variety of this enchanting landſcape; from examining the happy intermixture of hill and dale, wood and water; and from contemplating the diverſified beauty and majeſtic grandeur of Nature under her moſt blooming and beneficent aſpects.

is occupied by the Greeks;

This delicious valley, which an ancient writer, by a bold figure of ſpeech, calls "a feſtival for the eyes," and which the bounty of the gods had formed for happy ſcenes of love, innocence, and tranquillity, the deſtructive ambition of man was ready to convert into a field of bloodſhed and horror. It was natural for the Theſſalians to expect that the troops of Xerxes would paſs by this inlet into their territories; and hither their ambaſſadors entreated the allied Greeks to ſend an army. The propoſal ſeemed juſt and uſeful; ſhips were prepared at the iſthmus; and a body of ten thouſand

men

men were embarked under the command of Themiſtocles, with orders to ſail through the narrow Euripus, to land in the harbours of Tempé, and remain there in order to guard that important paſs. CHAP. IX.

but ſoon abandoned.

They had not continued in thoſe parts many days, when a meſſenger arrived from Alexander, ſon of Amyntas, tributary prince of Macedonia, adviſing them to depart from that poſt, unleſs they meant to be trodden under foot by the Perſian cavalry. It is not probable, however, that this menace could have changed their reſolution. But they had already learned that there was another paſſage into Theſſaly, through the territory of the Perræbians, near the city Gonnus in Upper Macedonia. Their army was inſufficient to guard both; and the defending of one only, could not be of eſſential advantage to themſelves, to the Theſſalians, or to the common cauſe.

The dangers which threaten Greece become more imminent and alarming.

Meantime, the dangers which thickened over their reſpective republics, rendered it neceſſary to return ſouthward. Their diſtant colonies, particularly thoſe of Sicily, which were the moſt numerous and powerful, could not afford them any aſſiſtance, being themſelves threatened with a formidable invaſion from the Carthaginians, the cauſe and conſequences of which we ſhall have occaſion fully to explain. The oracles were doubtful, or terrifying. To the Spartans they announced, as the only means of ſafety, the voluntary death of a king of the race of Hercules. The Athenians were commanded to ſeek refuge within their wooden walls.

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The reſponſes given to the other ſtates are not particularly recorded; but it appears in general, that all were dark, ambiguous, or frightful. The Grecian army returned therefore to their ſhips, repaſſed the Euripus, and arrived in ſafety at Corinth; while the Theſſalians, thus abandoned by their allies, reluctantly ſubmitted to the common enemy.

The Grecian fleet ſails to Artemiſium.

The terror inſpired by the critical ſituation of affairs, rendered the preſence of the leaders neceſſary in their reſpective communities. Themiſtocles found the Athenians divided about the meaning of the oracle, the greater part aſſerting, that by wooden walls was underſtood the incloſure of the citadel, which had been formerly ſurrounded by a paliſade. Others gave the words a different conſtruction, and each according to his fears or his intereſt; but Themiſtocles aſſerted that all of them had miſtaken the advice of the god, who deſired them to truſt for ſafety to their fleet. This opinion, ſupported by all the force of his eloquence, and the weight of his authority, at length prevailed in the aſſembly, although Epicides, a demagogue of great influence among the lower ranks of people, oppoſed it with the utmoſt vehemence; and ſeizing this opportunity to traduce the character of Themiſtocles, inſiſted that he himſelf ſhould be appointed general in his room. But the prudent Athenian knew the weakneſs of his adverſary; his great paſſion was avarice; and a ſeaſonable bribe immediately ſilenced his clamorous oppoſition. The Athenian gallies were fitted out with all

all convenient ſpeed, and being joined with thoſe of Eubœa, Ægina, Corinth, and the maritime allies of Peloponneſus, amounted to a fleet of three hundred ſail. They proceeded to the narrow ſea which divides the northern ſhore of Eubœa from the coaſt of Theſſaly, rendezvouſed at the promontory of Artemiſium, and patiently expected the arrival of the Barbarians.

The Greeks aſſemble an army.

Beſides the force neceſſary for manning this fleet, the confederates could raiſe an army of about ſixty thouſand freemen, beſides a ſtill greater proportion of armed ſlaves. As the paſſes leading from Theſſaly to the territories of Phocis and Locris were ſtill narrower and more difficult of acceſs than thoſe from Macedon into Theſſaly, it ſeems extraordinary that they did not immediately direct their whole military ſtrength towards that quarter: but this neglect may be explained by their ſuperſtitious veneration for oracles, the neceſſity of celebrating their accuſtomed feſtivals, and the dangerous delays and inactivity inherent in the nature of a republican confederacy. As they were acquainted with only one paſs, by which the Perſians could arrive from Theſſaly, they thought that a body of eight thouſand pike-men might be equally capable with a larger proportion of troops, to defend it againſt every invader. This narrow defile was called the Straits of Thermopylæ, in alluſion to the warm ſprings in that neighbourhood, and was deemed the gate or entrance into Greece. It was bounded on the weſt by high and inacceſſible precipices, which join the lofty ridge of mount Oeta;

Guard the Straits of Thermopylæ.

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Oeta; and on the eaſt terminated by an impracticable moraſs, bordered by the ſea. Near the plain of the Theſſalian city Trachis, the paſſage was fifty feet broad; but at Alpené, there was not room for one chariot to paſs another. Even theſe paſſes were defended by walls, formerly built by the Phocians to protect them againſt the incurſions of their enemies in Theſſaly, and ſtrengthened, on this occaſion, with as much care as time would allow. The troops ſent to Thermopylæ, which was only fifteen miles diſtant from the ſtation of the Grecian fleet at Artemiſium, conſiſted chiefly of Peloponneſians, commanded by Leonidas the Spartan king, who was prepared, in obedience to the oracle, to devote his life for the ſafety of his country.

The Perſian fleet arrive near Cape Sepias.

Before the Grecian confederates adopted theſe vigorous meaſures for their own defence, the Perſian army had marched, in three diviſions, from Thracian Doriſcus. They were accompanied by the fleet, which, coaſting about two hundred miles along the ſhores of Thrace, Macedon, and Theſſaly, at length reached Cape Sepias, which is twenty miles north of Artemiſium. As they advanced ſouthward, they laid under contribution Abdera[44], Thaſus, and Eion, the principal Gre-

44 The places on the road prepared not only vaſt magazines of corn and other proviſions for the troops, but ſumptuous entertainments for Xerxes and his attendants. A ſaying of Megacreon of Abdera expreſſed the devouring rapacity of the invaders: "That the Abderites ought to thank the gods, that Xerxes feaſted but once a day; it would ruin Abdera to furniſh him with both a dinner and a ſupper."

gian

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cian colonies in Thrace, as well as the cities of Torona, Olynthus, Potidæa, and other places of ſmaller note on the coaſt of Macedonia. The whole fleet anchored, after performing the moſt tedious and dangerous part of the voyage; near the entrance of the rivers Axius and Lydius, which flow into the Thermaic gulph; and, after quitting theſe harbours, ſpent eleven days in ſailing eighty miles, along a ſmooth unbroken coaſt, from the northern extremity of this gulph to the general rendezvous near Cape Sepias.

Their army marches to the plains of Trachis.

The fleet was commanded by Achæmines and Areabignes, ſons of Darius. Xerxes, in perſon, headed his army, which made a conſiderable halt during the march at the Macedonian towns of Therma and Pella, and encamped in the Thracian plains on each ſide of the above-mentioned rivers Axius and Lydius. From hence they proceeded in three bodies; the diviſion neareſt the ſhore was commanded by Mardonius and Maſiſtes. Sergis, an experienced general, conducted the march through the higher parts of the country; and the great king, accompanied by Smerdones and Megabyzus, who occaſionally relieved him from the trouble of command, choſe the middle paſſage as the ſafeſt, the moſt convenient, and the moſt entertaining; for hitherto the Perſian expedition was rather a journey of pleaſure, than an undertaking of fatigue or danger. Xerxes examined at leiſure ſuch objects of nature or art as appeared moſt intereſting and curious. His fancy was amuſed, as he paſſed the various ſcenes of ſuperſtition, with the legendary tales care-

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fully related by his conductors. He viewed, with pleaſure, the wide plains of Theſſaly, which bore indubitable marks of being once an extenſive lake; and contemplated, with wonder, the lofty mountains which ſeparated that country from the reſt of Greece, and which evidently appear to be rent aſunder, and to have received their preſent form from the terrible operation of volcanos and earthquakes. After fully ſatisfying his curioſity, he joined, with the diviſion more immediately under his command, the remainder of the army, aſſembled and encamped on the wide plains of Trachis, about forty miles in circumference, ſtretching along the ſhore of Theſſaly, oppoſite to the ſtation of the Perſian fleet, and adjacent to the Straits of Thermopylæ [45].

Circumſtances that rendered the Spartans reſpectable to Xerxes.

For more than twelve months, Xerxes had never ſeen the face of an enemy. He had traverſed, without reſiſtance, the wide regions of Aſia, and the countries which in ancient times were deemed moſt warlike in Europe. All the territories beyond Trachis acknowledged his power; and the diſtricts of Greece, which ſtill preſented a ſcene of action to his invincible arms, were leſs extenſive than the meaneſt of his provinces. Yet it is probable that he heard, not without emotion, that an army of Greeks, headed by the Spartan king, had taken poſt at Thermopylæ, in order to diſpute his paſſage. What he had been told by Demaratus concerning the character and principles of that

45. Herodot. Diodor. Plutarch. ibid.

Heroic

heroic people, he might now, when the danger drew near, be the more inclined to believe, from the ſuggeſtions of his own memory and experience. In the warmth of generous indignation, the Spartans, as we have already obſerved, had put to death the Perſian heralds, ſent to demand their ſubmiſſion; but upon cool reflection, they were prompted, chiefly indeed by ſuperſtitious motives, to make atonement for a violation of the ſacred law of nations. When proclamation was made in the aſſembly, "Who would die for Sparta?" two citizens, of great rank and eminence, offered themſelves as willing ſacrifices for the good of the community. Sperthies and Bulis (for theſe were their names) ſet out for Suſa on this ſingular errand. As they paſſed through Leſſer Aſia, they were entertained by Hydarnes, the governor of that province, who actually accompanied Xerxes, as commander of the Immortal Band, to which dignity he had been raiſed on account of his ſuperior merit. Hydarnes, among other diſcourſe with the Spartans, teſtified his ſurpriſe, that their republic ſhould be ſo averſe to the friendſhip of the king his maſter, who, he obſerved, as they might learn by his own example, well underſtood the value of brave men. That if they complied with the deſires of Xerxes, he would appoint them governors over the other cities of Greece. The Spartans coolly replied, "That he talked of a matter of which he was not a competent judge. With the condition and rewards of ſervitude he was indeed ſufficiently acquainted; but as to the enjoyments

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of liberty, he had never proved how ſweet they were; for if he had once made that experiment, he would adviſe them to defend their freedom not only with lances, but with hatchets[46]."

The ſame magnanimity diſtinguiſhed their behaviour at Suſa. The guards told them, that, when admitted into the preſence of Xerxes, they muſt obſerve the uſual ceremony of proſtrating themſelves on the ground. But the Spartans declared, "That no degree of violence could make them ſubmit to ſuch mean adulation: that they were not accuſtomed to adore a man, and came not thither for ſuch an impious purpoſe." They approached Xerxes, therefore, in an erect poſture, and told him with firmneſs, they were ſent to ſubmit to any puniſhment which he might think proper to inflict on them, as an atonement for the death of his heralds. Xerxes admiring their virtue, replied, "That he certainly ſhould not repeat the error of the Greeks, nor, by ſacrificing individuals, deliver the ſtate from the guilt of murder and impiety." The Spartans having received this anſwer, returned home, perſuaded that they had done their duty in offering private ſatisfaction; which, though not accepted, ought ſufficiently to atone for the public crime[47].

He ſends meſſengers to treat with them.

The example of theſe diſtinguiſhed patriots probably gave Xerxes a very favourable idea of the general character of their community. As he had not any particular quarrel with the Spartans, whoſe

[46] Herodot. l. vii. c. cxxxv. [47] Idem, l. vii. c. cxxxiv. & ſeq.

oppo-

oppoſition, though it could not prevent, would certainly retard, his intended puniſhment of Athens, he ſent meſſengers to deſire them to lay down their arms; to which they replied, "Let him come, and take them." The meſſengers then offered them lands, on condition of their becoming allies to the great king; but they anſwered, "That it was the cuſtom of their republic to conquer lands by valour, not to acquire them by treachery." Except making theſe ſmart replies, they took not the ſmalleſt notice of the Perſians; but continued to employ themſelves as before their arrival, contending in the gymnaſtic exerciſes, entertaining themſelves with muſic and converſation, or adjuſting their long hair to appear more terrible to their enemies. The meſſengers of Xerxes, equally aſtoniſhed at what they ſaw and heard, returned to the Perſian camp, and deſcribed the unexpected event of their commiſſion, as well as the extraordinary behaviour of the Spartans; of which Xerxes deſired an explanation from their countryman Demaratus[48]. The latter declared in general, that their whole carriage and demeanour announced a determined reſolution to fight to the laſt extremity; but he found it difficult to make the Perſian conceive the motives of men, who fought, at the certain price of their own lives, to purchaſe immortal renown for their country.—That a few individuals ſhould be animated, on ſome extraordinary occaſions, with this patriotic magnanimity, may eaſily be underſtood. Of this,

Magnanimity of the Spartans.

[48] Herodot. l. vii. c. ccix. & ſeq.

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hiſtory in all ages furniſhes illuſtrious examples; but that a whole nation ſhould be habitually impreſſed with the ſame generoſity of character, cannot readily be believed, without reflecting on the inſtitutions and manners of the Spartans. The laws of that celebrated people prohibiting, as it has been already obſerved[49], the introduction of wealth and luxury, and rigidly confining each individual to the rank in which he was born, had extinguiſhed the great motives of private ambition, and left ſcarcely any other ſcope to the active principles of men, but the glory of promoting the intereſts of their republic. Their extraordinary military ſucceſs, the natural fruit of their temperance and activity, had given them a permanent ſenſe of their ſuperiority in war, which it became their chief point of honour to maintain and to confirm; and as the law which commanded them to die rather than break their ranks, or abandon their poſts in battle, was, like all the ordinances of Lycurgus, conceived to be of divine authority, the influence of ſuperſtition happily conſpired with the ardour of patriotiſm and the enthuſiaſm of valour, in preparing them to meet certain death in the ſervice of the public.

Xerxes waits four days, in hopes of changing their reſolution.

Xerxes could not be made to enter into theſe motives, or to believe, as Herodotus obſerves with inimitable ſimplicity, "that the Grecians were come to Thermopylæ only as men deſirous to die, and to deſtroy as many of their enemies as they could," though nothing was more true. He there-

49 See above, c. iii. p. 133.

fore

fore waited four days, continually expecting they would either retreat into their own country, or ſurrender their arms, agreeably to his meſſage. But as they ſtill continued to guard the paſſage, he aſcribed this conduct to obſtinacy or folly; and on the fifth day determined to chaſtiſe their inſolent oppoſition.

Gives orders to attack them and their confederates.

The Medes and Ciſſians, who, next to the Sacæ and Perſians, formed the braveſt part of his army, were commanded to attack theſe obſtinate Greeks, and to bring them alive into his preſence. The Barbarians marched with confidence to the engagement, but were repulſed with great ſlaughter. The places of thoſe who fell were inceſſantly ſupplied with freſh troops, but they could not make the ſmalleſt impreſſion on the firm battalions of the Greeks; and the great loſs which they ſuſtained in the attempt, proved to all, and particularly to the king, that he had indeed many men, but few ſoldiers. The Sacæ, armed with their hatchets, next marched to the attack, but without better ſucceſs; and laſt of all, the choſen band of Perſians, headed by Hydarnes, deigned to diſplay their valour in what appeared to them a very unequal conteſt. But they ſoon changed their opinion when they came to cloſe with the enemy; for, ſays Herodotus, their numbers were uſeleſs, as they fought in a narrow paſs, and their ſhort-pointed weapons were ill calculated to contend with the length of the Grecian ſpear. The Greeks had the advantage ſtill more in the ſuperiority of their diſcipline, than in the excellence of their armour.

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Tired with deſtroying, they retreated in cloſe order, and when purſued unguardedly by the Barbarians, they faced about on a ſudden, and killed an incredible number of the Perſians, with ſcarcely any loſs to themſelves. Xerxes, who was ſeated on an eminence to behold the battle, frequently ſtarted in wild emotion from his throne; and, fearing leſt he ſhould be deprived of the flower of his army, he ordered them to be drawn off from the attack. But as the Grecian numbers were ſo extremely inconſiderable, and as it ſeemed probable that the greateſt part of them muſt have ſuffered much injury in theſe repeated aſſaults, he determined next day to renew the engagement. Next day he fought without better ſucceſs than before; and after vainly endeavouring to force the paſs, both in ſeparate bodies, and with the collected vigour of their troops, the Perſians were compelled to abandon the enterpriſe, and diſgracefully to retire to their camp.

His troops are repelled.

It was a ſpectacle which the world had never ſeen before, and which it was never again to behold, the perſevering intrepidity of eight thouſand men reſiſting the impetuous fury of an army compoſed of millions. The pertinacious valour of Leonidas, and of his little troop, oppoſed, and might have long retarded, the progreſs of the Barbarians. But it was the fate of Greece, always to be conquered rather by the treachery of falſe friends, than by the force of open enemies. When Xerxes knew not what meaſures to purſue in order to effect his purpoſe, and felt the inconvenience of remain-

The Greeks betrayed by Epialtes;

remaining long in the ſame quarters with ſuch an immenſe number of men, a perfidious Greek, induced by the hopes of reward, offered to remove his difficulties [50]. The name of the traitor was Epialtes, and he was a native of the obſcure diſtrict of Mœlis, which ſeparates the frontiers of Theſſaly and Phocis. His experience of the country made him acquainted with a paſſage through the mountains of Oeta, ſeveral miles to the weſt of that guarded by Leonidas. Over this unfrequented path he undertook to conduct a body of twenty thouſand Perſians, who might aſſault the enemy in rear, while the main body attacked them in front. By this means, whatever prodigies of valour the Greeks might perform, they muſt be finally compelled to ſurrender, as they would be incloſed on all ſides among barren rocks and inhoſpitable deſarts.

who conducts a Perſian detachment over the mountains.

The plan ſo judiciouſly concerted, was carried into immediate execution. On the evening of the ſeventh day after Xerxes arrived at the Straits, twenty thouſand choſen men left the Perſian camp, commanded by Hydarnes, and conducted by Epialtes. All night they marched through the thick foreſts of oak which abound in thoſe parts; and by day-break they advanced near to the top of the hill. But how much were they ſurpriſed to ſee the firſt rays of the morning reflected by the glittering ſurfaces of Grecian ſpears and helmets! Hydarnes was afraid that this guard, which ſeemed at no

[50] Herodot. l. vii. c. ccxii. & ſeq.

great

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great diſtance, had been alſo compoſed of Lacedæmonians; but a nearer approach ſhewed that they conſiſted of a thouſand Phocians, whom the foreſight of Leonidas had ſent to defend this important but unknown paſs, which chance or treachery might diſcover to the Perſians. The thick ſhade of the trees long concealed the enemy from the Greeks; at length the ruſtling of the leaves, and the tumult occaſioned by the motion of twenty thouſand men, diſcovered the imminence of danger; the Phocians with great intrepidity flew to their arms, and prepared, if they ſhould not conquer, at leaſt to die gallantly. The compact firmneſs of their ranks, which might have reſiſted the regular onſet of the enemy, expoſed them to ſuffer much from the immenſe ſhower of darts which the Perſians poured upon them. To avoid this danger, they too raſhly abandoned the paſs which they had been ſent to guard, and retired to the higheſt part of the mountain, not doubting that the enemy, whoſe ſtrength ſo much exceeded their own, would follow them thither. But in this they were diſappointed; for the Perſians prudently omitting the purſuit of this inconſiderable party, whom to defeat they conſidered as a matter of little moment, immediately ſeized the paſſage, and marched down the mountain with the utmoſt expedition, in order to accompliſh the deſign ſuggeſted by Epialtes.

Alarm in the Grecian camp.

Meanwhile, obſcure intimations from the gods had darkly announced ſome dreadful calamity impending on the Greeks at Thermopylæ. The appearance of the entrails, which were carefully inſpected

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inſpected by the augur Magiſtias, threatened the Spartans with death; but when, or by what means, it did not clearly appear, until a Grecian deſerter, a native of the city Cymé in Ionia, named Tyraſtiadas, arrived with information of the intended march of the Perſians acroſs the mountain. Animated by the love of his country, this generous fugitive had no ſooner diſcovered the treacherous deſign of Epialtes, than he determined, at the riſk of his life, and ſtill more at the riſk of being ſubjected to the moſt excruciating tortures, to communicate his diſcovery to the Spartan king[51]. Zeal for the ſafety of Greece gave ſwiftneſs to his ſteps, and he appeared in the Grecian camp a few hours after the Perſians, conducted by Epialtes, had left the plains of Trachis. Leonidas immediately called a council of war, to deliberate upon the meaſures neceſſary to be taken in conſequence of this information, equally important and alarming. All the confederates of Peloponneſus, except the Spartans, declared their opinion, that it was neceſſary to abandon a poſt, which, after the double attack announced to them ſhould take place, it would be impoſſible with any hopes of ſucceſs to maintain. As their exertions could not be of any avail to the public cauſe, it was prudent to conſult their private ſafety; and while time was yet allowed them to retire to the iſthmus of Corinth, where joining the reſt of the auxiliaries, they might be ready to defend the Grecian peninſula againſt the

[51] Herodot. l. vii. c. ccxix. & ſeq.

fury

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Magnanimity of Leonidas.

fury of the Barbarians. It belonged to Leonidas to explain the ſentiments of the Spartans. The other inhabitants of Peloponnēſus, he obſerved, might follow the dictates of expediency, and return to the iſthmus, in order to defend their reſpective territories; but glory was the only voice which the Spartans had learned to obey. Placed in the firſt rank by the general conſent of their country, they would rather die than abandon that poſt of honour; and they were determined, therefore, at the price of their lives, to purchaſe immortal renown, to confirm the pre-eminence of Sparta, and to give an example of patriotiſm, worthy of being admired, if it ſhould not be imitated, by poſterity.

Seven hundred Theſpians determine to remain with Leonidas;

The dread of unavoidable and immediate death deterred the other allies from concurring with this magnanimous reſolution. The Theſpians alone, amounting to ſeven hundred men, declared they would never forſake Leonidas. They were conducted by the aged wiſdom of Demophilus, and the youthful valour of Dithyrambus. Their republic was united in the ſtricteſt alliance with Sparta, by which they had often been defended againſt the uſurpation and tyranny of the Thebans. Theſe circumſtances added force to their natural generoſity of ſentiment, and determined them, on this occaſion, to adhere with ſtedfaſt intrepidity to the meaſures of their Spartan allies. As the Theſpians remained at Thermopylæ, from inclination, and from principles of diſtinguiſhed bravery, the Thebans were detained by the particular deſire of Leonidas, who was not unacquainted with the intended treachery

who detains the perfidious Thebans.

of

of their republic. The four hundred men whom that perfidious community had ſent to accompany his expedition, he regarded rather as hoſtages than auxiliaries; nor was he unwilling to employ their doubtful fidelity in a deſperate ſervice. He thought that they might be compelled by force, or ſtimulated by a ſenſe of ſhame, to encounter the ſame dangers to which the Spartans and Theſpians voluntarily ſubmitted; and without diſcovering his ſuſpicion of their treachery, he had a ſufficient pretence for retaining them, while he diſmiſſed his allies of Peloponneſus, becauſe the Theban territories, lying on the north ſide of the iſthmus of Corinth, would neceſſarily be expoſed to hoſtility and devaſtation, whenever the Barbarians ſhould paſs the ſtraits of Thermopylæ. Beſides the Theſpians [52] and Thebans, the troops who remained with Leonidas conſiſted of three hundred Spartans, all choſen men, and fathers of ſons. This valiant band, with unanimous conſent, ſolicited their general to dedicate to the glory of Greece, and their own, the important interval yet allowed them, before they were ſurrounded by the Perſians. The ardour of Leonidas happily conſpired with the ready zeal of the ſoldiers, He therefore com-

[52] From the narrative of Herodotus, it would ſeem that the Theſpians alone voluntarily remained with Leonidas and the Spartans. Yet the inſcription which he cites makes the whole number who fought at Thermopylæ amount to four thouſand.

Μυριασιν ποτε τηδε τριηκοσιαις εμαχοντο
Εκ Πελοποννησου χιλιαδες τετορες.

Iſocrates likewiſe (p. 164.) ſays, that ſome Peloponneſians remained to fight.

manded

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manded them to prepare the laſt meal of their lives, and to ſup like men who ſhould to-morrow dine in Elyſium. His own example confirmed the propriety of the command, for he took an abundant repaſt, in order to furniſh ſtrength and ſpirits for a long continuance of toil and danger.

The Greeks ſurpriſe the Perſian camp in the night.

It was now the dead of night, when the Spartans, headed by Leonidas, marched in a cloſe battalion towards the Perſian camp, with reſentment heightened by deſpair[53]. Their fury was terrible, and rendered ſtill more deſtructive through the defect of Barbarian diſcipline; for the Perſians having neither advanced guards, nor a watch-word, nor confidence in each other, were incapable of adopting ſuch meaſures for defence, as the ſudden emergency required. Many fell by the Grecian ſpear, but much greater multitudes by the miſtaken rage of their own troops, by whom, in the midſt of this blind confuſion, they could not be diſtinguiſhed from enemies. The Greeks, wearied with ſlaughter, penetrated to the royal pavilion; but there the firſt alarm of noiſe had been readily perceived, amidſt the profound ſilence and tranquillity which uſually reigned in the tent of Xerxes; the great king had immediately eſcaped, with his

53 Diodor. l. xi. p. 247. The nocturnal aſſault, omitted by Herodotus, is mentioned not only by Diodorus, but by Plutarch, Juſtin, and moſt other writers. The general panegyric of Plato (in Menex.), of Lyſias (Orat. Funeb.), and of Iſocrates (Panegyr.), required not their deſcending into ſuch particulars. Yet, notwithſtanding theſe circumſtances, I ſhould have omitted this incident, if it had appeared inconſiſtent with the honeſt narrative of Herodotus.

favourite attendants, to the farther extremity of the encampment. Even there, all was tumult, and horror, and deſpair; the obſcurity of night increaſing the terror of the Perſians, who no longer doubted that the detachment conducted by Epialtes had been betrayed by that perfidious Greek; and that the enemy, reinforced by new numbers, now co-operated with the traitor, and ſeized the opportunity of aſſailing their camp, after it had been deprived of the diviſion of Hydarnes, its principal ornament and defence. CHAP. IX.

Battle of Thermopylæ.

The approach of day diſcovered to the Perſians a dreadful ſcene of carnage; but it alſo diſcovered to them that their fears had multiplied the number of the enemy, who now retreated in cloſe order to the ſtraits of Thermopylæ. Xerxes, ſtimulated by the fury of revenge, gave orders to purſue them; and his terrified troops were rather driven than led to the attack, by the officers who marched behind the ſeveral diviſions, and compelled them to advance by menaces, ſtripes, and blows. The Grecians, animated by their late ſucceſs, and perſuaded that they could not poſſibly eſcape death on the arrival of thoſe who approached by way of the mountain, bravely halted in the wideſt part of the paſs, to receive the charge of the enemy. The ſhock was dreadful, and the battle was maintained on the ſide of the Greeks with perſevering intrepidity and deſperate valour. After their ſpears were blunted or broken, they attacked ſword in hand, and their ſhort, but maſſy and well-tempered weapons, made an incredible havoc. Their progreſs

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greſs was marked by a line of blood, when a Barbarian dart pierced the heart of Leonidas. The conteſt was no longer for victory and glory, but for the ſacred remains of their king. Four times they diſpelled the thickeſt globes of Perſians; but as their unexampled valour was carrying off the ineſtimable prize, the hoſtile battalions were ſeen deſcending the hill, under the conduct of Epialtes. It was now time to prepare for the laſt effort of generous deſpair. With cloſe order and reſolute minds, the Greeks, all collected in themſelves, retired to the narroweſt part of the ſtrait, and took poſt behind the Phocian wall, on a riſing ground, where a lion of ſtone was afterwards erected in honour of Leonidas. As they performed this movement, fortune, willing to afford every occaſion to diſplay their illuſtrious merit, obliged them to contend at once againſt open force and ſecret treachery. The Thebans, whom fear had hitherto reſtrained from defection, ſeized the preſent opportunity to revolt; and approaching the Perſians with outſtretched arms, declared that they had always been their friends; that *their* republic had ſent earth and water, as an acknowledgment of their ſubmiſſion to Xerxes; and that it was with the utmoſt reluctance they had been compelled by neceſſity to reſiſt the progreſs of his arms. As they approached to ſurrender themſelves, many periſhed by the darts of the Barbarians; the remainder ſaved a periſhing life, by ſubmitting to eternal infamy. Meanwhile the Lacedæmonians and Theſpians were aſſaulted on all ſides. The neareſt of the enemy beat

beat down the wall, and entered by the breaches. Their temerity was puniſhed by inſtant death. In this laſt ſtruggle every Grecian ſhewed the moſt heroic courage; yet if we believe the unanimous report of ſome Theſſalians, and others who ſurvived the engagement, the Spartan Dioneces deſerved the prize of valour. When it was obſerved to him, that the Perſian arrows were ſo numerous, that they intercepted the light of the ſun, he ſaid it was a favourable circumſtance, becauſe the Greeks now fought in the ſhade. The brothers Alpheus and Maron are likewiſe particularized for their generous contempt of death, and for their diſtinguiſhed valour and activity in the ſervice of their country. What theſe, and other virtues, could accompliſh, the Greeks, both as individuals, and in a body, had already performed; but it became impoſſible for them longer to reſiſt the impetuoſity and weight of the darts, and arrows, and other miſſile weapons, which were continually poured upon them; and they were finally not deſtroyed or conquered, but buried under a trophy of Perſian arms. Two monuments were afterwards erected near the ſpot where they fell; the inſcription of the firſt announced the valour of a handful of Greeks [54], who had reſiſted three millions of Bar-

54 Iſocrates, p. 164. makes the Spartans who fought at Thermopylæ amount to one thouſand. Diodorus, l. xi. p. 410. agrees with Herodotus, whoſe narrative is followed in the text. According to the moſt probable accounts, the Theſpians were twice as numerous as the Spartans; although the latter have carried away all the glory of this ſingular exploit.

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barians: the ſecond was peculiar to the Spartans, and contained theſe memorable words: "Go, ſtranger, and declare to the Lacedæmonians, that we died here in obedience to their divine laws [55]."

[55] Ω ξειν' ἀγγειλον Λακεδαιμονιοις ὁτι τηδε
Κειμεθα τοις κεινων ῥημασι πειθομενοι.
Herodot. c. cxxviii.

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Sea Fight off Artemiſium.—Xerxes ravages Phocis. —Enters Attica.—Magnanimity of the Athenians.—Sea Fight off Salamis.—Xerxes leaves Greece.—his miſerable Retreat.—Campaign of Mardonius.—Battles of Platæa and Mycalé.—Iſſue of the Perſian Invaſion.

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Diſaſter of the Perſian fleet on the coaſt of Theſſaly.

DURING the military operations at Thermopylæ, the Grecian fleet was ſtationed in the harbour of Artemiſium, the northern promontory of Eubœa. That of the Perſians, too numerous for any harbour to contain, had anchored in the road that extends between the city of Caſtanæa and the promontory of Sepias, on the coaſt of Theſſaly. Here this formidable armada ſuffered the calamities foretold by the wiſdom of Artabanus. In a converſation with Xerxes, that prudent old man had warned him againſt two enemies, the ſea and the land, from whom his own raſh inexperience ſeemed not to apprehend any danger. Yet both theſe enemies occaſioned dreadful misfortunes to the Perſians, whoſe numbers firſt expoſed them to be deſtroyed at ſea by a tempeſt, and afterwards to periſh on land by a famine. The firſt line of their fleet was ſheltered by the coaſt of Theſſaly; but the other lines, to the number of ſeven, rode at anchor, at ſmall intervals, with the

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prows of the veſſels turned to the ſea. When they adopted this arrangement, the waters were ſmooth, the ſky clear, the weather calm and ſerene; but on the morning of the ſecond day after their arrival on the coaſt, the ſky began to lour, and the appearance of the heavens grew threatening and terrible. A dreadful ſtorm of rain and thunder ſucceeded; and, what was more alarming, the billows began to riſe to an amazing height, occaſioned by a violent Helleſpontin, or north-eaſt wind, which, when it once begins to blow in thoſe ſeas with any conſiderable force, ſeldom ceaſes for ſeveral days. The neareſt veſſels were ſaved by hauling under the ſhore: of the more remote many were driven from their anchors; ſome foundered at ſea, others ſplit on the promontory of Sepias, and ſeveral bulged on the ſhallows of Melibæa. Three days the tempeſt raged with unabating fury. Four hundred gallies were deſtroyed by its violence, beſide ſuch a number of ſtoreſhips and tranſports, that the Perſian commanders, ſuſpecting this diſaſter might occaſion the revolt of the Theſſalians, fortified themſelves with a rampart of conſiderable height, entirely compoſed of the ſhattered fragments of the wreck [x].

The Perſians ſail to the Pegaſean bay.

This bulwark was ſufficient to protect them againſt the irruptions of the Greeks; but it could not defend them againſt the more dangerous fury of the waves. In a ſhort time, therefore, they quit-

[x] Herodot. l. vii. c. clxxxviii. & ſeq. Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. c. xii.

ted

ted their inſecure ſtation at Sepias, and with eight hundred ſhips of war, beſides innumerable veſſels of burden, ſailed into the Pegaſean bay, and anchored in the road of Apheté, which, at the diſtance of a few miles, lies directly oppoſite to the harbour of Artemiſium. CHAP. X.

The commanders of the Grecian fleet think of retiring ſouthward;

The Grecians had poſted centinels on the heights of Eubœa to obſerve the conſequences of the ſtorm, and to watch the motions of the enemy. When informed of the dreadful diſaſter which had befallen them, they poured out a joyous libation, and ſacrificed, with pious gratitude, to "Neptune the Deliverer;" but the near approach of ſuch a ſuperior force ſoon damped their tranſports of religious feſtivity. Neptune had favoured them in the ſtorm, yet he might aſſiſt their enemies in the engagement. In the council of war, called to deliberate on this important ſubject, it was the general opinion of the commanders, that they ought immediately to retire ſouthward. The Eubœans, whoſe coaſts muſt have thus been abandoned to the fury of invaders, were peculiarly intereſted in oppoſing this puſillanimous reſolution. The paſſage into the continent of Greece, they obſerved, was ſtill guarded by the magnanimity of Leonidas, and the bravery of the Spartans. Following this generous example, the Grecian fleet, however inferior in ſtrength, ought to reſiſt the Perſians, and to protect the eſtates and families of a rich and populous iſland*. This remonſtrance had not any

* Herodot. l. viii. c. ii. & ſeq.

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effect on the determined purpoſe of Euribiades the Spartan, who, on account of the ancient pre-eminence of his republic, was entruſted with the command of the fleet; an honour rather due to the perſonal merit of Themiſtocles, and the naval ſuperiority of Athens.

but are prevailed on to remain at Artemiſium, by the addreſs of Themiſtocles,

To the Athenian commander the Eubœans ſecretly applied, and, by a preſent of thirty talents, engaged him to uſe his influence to retain the Grecian armament for the defence of their coaſts. Themiſtocles was well pleaſed at being bribed into a meaſure which his good ſenſe and diſcernment approved. By a proper diſtribution of only eight talents, he brought over the other captains to his opinion, and thus effectually promoted the intereſt, and ſecured the good-will, of the Eubœans, while he retained for himſelf an immenſe ſum of money, which might be uſefully employed, on many future occaſions, in fixing, by largeſſes and expenſive exhibitions, the fluctuating favour of his fellow-citizens.

Both ſides prepare for battle.

Meanwhile the Perſians, having recovered from the terrors of the ſtorm, prepared for the engagement. As they entertained not the ſmalleſt doubt of victory, they determined not to begin the attack, until they had ſent two hundred of their beſt ſailing veſſels around the iſle of Eubœa, to intercept the expected flight of the enemy through the narrow Euripus. In order to conceal this deſign, they ordered the detached ſhips to ſtand out to ſea until they loſt ſight of the eaſtern coaſt of Eubœa, ſailing behind the little iſland of Sciathus, and

and afterwards ſhaping their courſe by the promontories of Caphaneus and Gereſtus. The ſtratagem, concerted with more than uſual prudence, was, however, diſcovered to the Greeks by Scyllias, a native of Scioné, now ſerving in the Perſian fleet, but who had long languiſhed for an opportunity of deſerting to his countrymen. While the attention of the Barbarians was employed in the preparations neceſſary for their new arrangement, Scyllias availed himſelf of his dexterity in diving, to ſwim, unperceived, to a boat which had been prepared at a ſufficient diſtance, in which he fortunately eſcaped to Artemiſium. He immediately gained admittance to the Grecian council, where the boldneſs of his enterpriſe gave perſuaſion to his words. In conſequence of his ſeaſonable and important information, the Greeks determined to continue till midnight in the harbour, and then weighing anchor, to ſail in queſt of the fleet which had been ſent out to prevent their eſcape. But this ſtratagem, by which they would have met the art of the enemy with ſimilar addreſs, was not carried into execution. The advice-boats, which had been immediately diſpatched to obſerve the progreſs of the Perſians, returned before evening, without having ſeen any ſhips approaching in that direction.

The firſt ſea-fight at Artemiſium.

This intelligence was welcome to the Greeks, who were unwilling, without evident neceſſity, to abandon their preſent ſituation. The enemy, who had lately ſuffered ſo ſeverely in the ſtorm, were now further weakened by a conſiderable diminu-

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tion of their fleet. The ſtrength of the adverſe parties being thus reduced nearer to an equality, the weaker ſeized the opportunity to diſplay their courage in fight, and their ſuperior ſkill in naval action. About ſun-ſet they approached in a line, and offered battle to the Perſians. The latter did not decline the engagement, as their ſhips were ſtill ſufficiently numerous to ſurround thoſe of their opponents. At the firſt ſignal the Greeks formed into a circle, at the ſecond they began the fight. Though crowded into a narrow compaſs, and having the enemy on every ſide, they ſoon took thirty of their ſhips, and ſunk many more. Night came on, accompanied with an impetuous ſtorm of rain and thunder; the Greeks retired into the harbour of Artemiſium; the enemy were driven to the coaſt of Theſſaly. As the wind blew from the ſouth, the dead bodies and wrecks daſhed with violence againſt the ſides of their ſhips, and diſturbed the motion of their oars. The Barbarians were ſeized with conſternation and deſpair; for ſcarcely had they time to breathe, after the former ſtorm and ſhipwreck near Mount Pelion, when they were compelled to a dangerous ſea-fight; after darkneſs put an end to the battle, they were again involved in the gloom and horrors of a nocturnal tempeſt. By good fortune, rather than by deſign, the greateſt part of the fleet eſcaped immediate deſtruction, and gained the Pegaſean Bay. *Their* calamities were great and unexpected; but the ſhips ordered to ſail round Euboea met with a ſtill more dreadful diſaſter. They were overtaken by the

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the ſtorm, after they had adventured further from the ſhore than was uſual with the wary mariners of antiquity. Clouds ſoon intercepted the ſtars, by which alone they directed their courſe. They were driven they knew not whither by the force of the winds, or impelled by the impetuoſity of currents. In addition to theſe misfortunes, they were terrified by the thunder, and overwhelmed by the deluge; and after continuing during the greateſt part of the night, the ſport of the elements, they all periſhed[3] miſerably, amidſt the ſhoals and rocks of an unknown coaſt.

The morning aroſe with different proſpects and hopes to the Perſians and Greeks. To the former it diſcovered the extent of their misfortunes; to the latter it brought a reinforcement of fifty-three Athenian ſhips. Encouraged by this favourable circumſtance, they determined again to attack the enemy, at the ſame hour as on the preceding day, becauſe their knowledge of the coaſt, and their ſkill in fighting their ſhips, rendered the duſk peculiarly propitious to their deſigns. At the appointed time, they ſailed towards the road of Apheté, and having cut off the Cilician ſquadron from the reſt, totally deſtroyed it, and returned at night to Artemiſium.

The ſecond ſea fight at Artemiſium.

The Perſian commanders being deeply affected with their repeated diſaſters, but ſtill more alarmed at the much dreaded reſentment of their king, they determined to make one vigorous effort, for reſtoring the glory of their arms. By art and ſtra-

[3] Herodot. l. viii. c. xiii. Diodor. l. xi. c. xiii.

tagem,

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tagem, and under favour of the night, the Greeks had hitherto gained many important advantages. It now belonged to the Perſians to chuſe the time for action. On the third day at noon, they ſailed forth in the form of a creſcent, which was ſtill ſufficiently extenſive to infold the Grecian line. The Greeks, animated by former ſucceſs, were averſe to decline any offer of battle; yet it is probable that their admirals, and particularly Themiſtocles, would much rather have delayed it to a more favourable opportunity. Rage, reſentment, and indignation, ſupplied the defect of the Barbarians in ſkill and courage. The battle was longer, and more doubtful, than on any former occaſion; many Grecian veſſels were deſtroyed; five were taken by the Egyptians, who particularly ſignalized themſelves on the ſide of the Barbarians, as the Athenians did on that of the Greeks. The perſevering valour of the latter at length prevailed, the enemy retiring, and acknowledging their ſuperiority, by leaving them in poſſeſſion of the dead and the wreck. But the victory coſt them dear; ſince their veſſels, particularly thoſe of the Athenians, were reduced to a very ſhattered condition; and their great inferiority in the number and ſize of their ſhips, made them feel more ſenſibly every diminution of ſtrength.

The Greeks ſail to the Saronic Gulph.

This circumſtance was ſufficient to make them think of retiring (while they might yet retire in ſafety) to the ſhores of the Corinthian Iſthmus. The inclination to this meaſure received additional force from conſidering, that the Perſians, however unfor-

unfortunate by ſea, had ſtill an immenſe army; whereas the principal hope of Greece centered in its fleet. While the commanders were occupied with theſe reflections, Abronycus, an Athenian, who had been entruſted with a galley of thirty oars, to cruiſe in the Malian bay, and to watch the event of the battle of Thermopylæ, arrived with an account of the glorious death of Leonidas. The engagements by ſea and land had been fought on the ſame day. In both the Greeks defended a narrow paſs, againſt a ſuperior power; and in both the Perſians had, with very different ſucceſs, attempted, by ſurrounding, to conquer them. The intelligence brought by Abronycus confirmed their reſolution of ſailing ſouthward; for it ſeemed of very little importance to defend the ſhores, after the enemy had obtained poſſeſſion of the centre of the northern territories. Having paſſed the narrow Euripus, they coaſted along the ſhore of Attica, and anchored in the ſtrait of the Saronic Gulph, which ſeparates the iſland of Salamis from the harbours of Athens [4].

Themiſtocles's ſtratagem for making the Ionians deſert their allies.

Before they left Artemiſium, Themiſtocles, ever watchful to promote the intereſt of his country, endeavoured to alienate [5] from the great king the affections of his braveſt auxiliaries. Contrary to the advice of the prudent Artabanus, Xerxes had conducted the Aſiatic Greeks to an unnatural expedition againſt their mother-country. His wiſe kinſman in vain perſuaded him to ſend them back, becauſe it appeared equally diſhonourable and dangerous

4 Herodot. l. viii. c. xxi. 5 Ibid. l. viii. c. xxii.

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gerous to depend on the ſervice of men, which could only be employed in his favour at the expence of every principle of duty, and of every ſentiment of virtue. By hope and fear, by threats and promiſes, and chiefly by honouring them with marks of diſtinguiſhed preference, Xerxes had hitherto preſerved their reluctant fidelity. In order at once to deſtroy a connection, which of its own accord ſeemed ready to diſſolve, Themiſtocles engraved on the rocks, near the watering-place of Artemiſium, the following words: "Men of Ionia, your conduct is moſt unjuſt in fighting againſt your anceſtors, and in attempting to enſlave Greece; reſolve, therefore, while it is yet in your power, to repair the injury.—If you cannot immediately deſert from the Perſian fleet, yet it will be eaſy for you to accompliſh this deſign when we come to an engagement. You ought to remember, that yourſelves gave occaſion to the quarrel between us and the Barbarians; and farther, that the ſame duties which children owe to their parents, colonies owe to their mother-country[6]."

Xerxes advances with his army towards Attica.

When news arrived that the Grecian fleet had abandoned Artemiſium, Xerxes regarded this retreat of the enemy as equal to a victory. He therefore iſſued orders, that his naval force, after ravaging the coaſts of Eubœa, ſhould proceed to take poſſeſſion of the harbours of Athens; while,

[6] This ſentiment is the dictate of nature, and occurs often in the Roman as well as the Greek writers. "Quæ liberi parentibus, coloni antiquæ patriæ debent." T. Livius.

at the head of his irreſiſtible army, he intended to make a victorious proceſſion, rather than a march, into the Attic territory. The road thither from Thermopylæ paſſed through the countries of Phocis and Bœotia, the latter of which had already acknowledged his authority. The Phocians adhered to the cauſe of Greece; and were ſtill farther confirmed in their allegiance, after the Theſſalians, their inveterate enemies, had embraced the party of Xerxes. Such were the violent animoſities which divided theſe hoſtile ſtates, that, in the opinion of Herodotus, whichever ſide the Theſſalians had taken, the Phocians would ſtill have oppoſed them. He might perhaps have extended the obſervation to the other principal republics. The enthuſiaſm of Athens and Sparta in defending the cauſe of Greece, rendered the rival ſtates of Thebes and Argos zealous in the ſervice of Perſia; and it is to be remembered, to the immortal glory of the friends of liberty and their country, that they had to ſtruggle with domeſtic ſedition, while they oppoſed and defeated a foreign invaſion. CHAP. X.

Having entered the territory of Phocis, the Perſian army ſeparated into two diviſions, with a view to obtain more plentiful ſupplies of the neceſſaries of life, and to deſtroy more completely the poſſeſſions of their enemies. The moſt numerous diviſion followed the courſe of the river Cephiſſus, which flows from the Theſſalian mountains to the lake Copais in Bœotia. The fertile banks of the Cephiſſus were adorned by Charadra, Neon, Elatæa, and other populous cities, all of which were Ravages Phocis.

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burned or demoliſhed by the fury of Xerxes, and the reſentment of the Theſſalians. Hiſtorians particularly regret the deſtruction of the ſacred walls of Abé, a city held in peculiar reſpect on account of the temple of Apollo, famed for its unerring oracles, and enriched from the earlieſt times by the pious donations of ſuperſtition. The inhabitants had in general abandoned their towns, and taken refuge in the moſt inacceſſible retreats of mount Parnaſſus. But the natives of Abé, vainly confiding for ſafety in the ſanctity of the place, became a prey to an undiſtinguiſhing rage, which equally diſregarded things ſacred and profane. The men periſhed by the ſword, the women by the brutal luſt of the Barbarians.

Extraordinary adventure of a detachment that attacked Delphi.

After committing theſe dreadful ravages, the principal diviſion of the army marched into Bœotia, by the way of Orchomenus. The *ſmaller* part (if either portion of ſuch an immenſe hoſt may be diſtinguiſhed by that epithet) ſtretched to the right, along the weſtern ſkirts of mount Parnaſſus, and traced a line of devaſtation from the banks of the Cephiſſus to the temple of Delphi. Such was the fame of the immenſe riches collected in this ſacred edifice, that Xerxes is ſaid to have been as well acquainted with their amount as with that of his own treaſury; and, to believe the adulation of his followers, he alone was worthy to poſſeſs that invaluable depoſitory. The Delphians having learned, by the unhappy fate of Abé, that their religious employment could not afford protection, either to their property or to their perſons, conſulted

ſulted the oracle, "Whether they ſhould hide their treaſures under ground, or tranſport them to ſome neighbouring country?" The Pythia replied, "That the arms of Apollo were ſufficient for the defence of his ſhrine." The Delphians, therefore, confined their attention to the means neceſſary for their perſonal ſafety. The women and children were tranſported by ſea to Achaia; the men climbed to the craggy tops of mount Cirphis, or deſcended to the deep caverns of Parnaſſus. Only ſixty perſons, the immediate miniſters of Apollo, kept poſſeſſion of the ſacred city. But, could we credit the teſtimony of ancient hiſtorians, it ſoon appeared that the gods had not abandoned Delphi: ſcarcely had the Perſians reached the temple of Minerva the Provident, ſituated at a little diſtance from the town, when the air thickened into an unuſual darkneſs. A violent ſtorm aroſe; the thunder and lightning were terrible. At length the tempeſt burſt on mount Parnaſſus, and ſeparated from its ſides two immenſe rocks, which rolling down with increaſed violence, overwhelmed the neareſt ranks of the Perſians. The ſhattered fragments of the mountain, which long remained in the grove of Minerva, were regarded by the credulity of the Greeks as a ſtanding proof of the miracle. But without ſuppoſing any ſupernatural intervention, we may believe, that an extraordinary event, happening on an extraordinary occaſion, would produce great terror and conſternation in the Barbarian army; ſince many of the nations which compoſed it acknowledged the divinity of Apollo, and muſt there-

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therefore have been ſenſible of their intended impiety, in deſpoiling his temple. The awful ſolemnity of the place conſpired with the horrors of the tempeſt, and the guilty feelings of their own conſciences. Theſe united terrors were ſufficient to diſturb all the rational principles of their minds, and even to confound the cleareſt perceptions of their ſenſes. They imagined that they heard many ſounds, which they did not hear; and that they ſaw many phantoms, which they did not ſee. An univerſal panic ſeized them; at firſt they remained motionleſs, in ſilent amazement; they afterwards fled with diſordered ſteps and wild deſpair. The Delphians, who perceived their confuſion, and who believed that the gods, by the moſt manifeſt ſigns, defended their favourite abode, ruſhed impetuouſly from their faſtneſſes, and deſtroyed great numbers of the terrified and unreſiſting enemy[7]. The remainder took the road of Bœotia, in order to join the main body under Xerxes, which having already deſtroyed the hoſtile cities of Theſpiæ and Platæa, was marching with full expectation to inflict complete vengeance on the Athenians.

Xerxes invades Attica.

The united army arrived in the Attic territory three months after their paſſage over the Helleſpont. They laid waſte the country, burned the cities, and levelled the temples with the ground. At length they took poſſeſſion of the capital; but the inhabitants, by a retreat no leſs prudent than magnanimous, had withdrawn from the fury of their reſentment.

7 Herodot. l. viii. c. xxxvii. & ſeq. & Diodor. l. xi. p. 250.

It

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which the Athenians had evacuated,

It was impoſſible for the Athenians at once to oppoſe the Perſian army, which marched from Bœotia, and to defend the weſtern coaſts of Greece againſt the ravages of a numerous fleet. The inhabitants of Peloponneſus, deſpairing of being able to reſiſt the enemy in the open field, had begun to build a wall acroſs the iſthmus of Corinth, as their only ſecurity on the ſide of the land againſt the Barbaric invaſion. In theſe circumſtances, the Athenians, by the advice of Themiſtocles, embraced a reſolution which eclipſed the glory of all their former exploits. They abandoned to the Perſian rage their villages, their territory, their walls, their city itſelf, with the revered tombs of their anceſtors; their wives and children, and aged parents, were tranſported to the iſles of Salamis and Ægina, and to the generous city of Træzoné, on the Argolic coaſt, which, notwithſtanding the defection of Argos, the capital of that province, ſtedfaſtly adhered to the maxims of patriotiſm, and the duties of friendſhip. The embarkation was made with ſuch haſte, that the inhabitants were obliged to leave behind them their houſehold furniture, their ſtatues and pictures, and in general the moſt valuable part of their property. But they were willing to relinquiſh all for the ſake of their country, which they well knew conſiſted not in their houſes, lands, and effects[8], but in that equal

Ου λιθοι, ουδε ξυλα ουδε
Τειχην τεκτονων αι πολεις εισιν,
Αλλ' οπου ποτ' αν ωσιν ΑΝΔΡΕΣ
Αυτας σωζειν ειδοτες,
Ενταυθα τειχη και πολεις.

ALCÆUS, apud Ariſtid.

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conſtitution of government, which they had received from their anceſtors, and which it was their duty to tranſmit unimpaired to poſterity. This conſtitution it was impoſſible for them to defend, unleſs they determined, at the riſk of their lives, and of every thing dear to them, to maintain the general independence of the Grecian confederacy; the intereſt of which became doubly precious, by being thus inſeparably connected with their own.

and embarked in the fleet at Salamis.

The Athenians capable of bearing arms or of handling an oar, embarked on board the fleet ſtationed at Salamis. The ſhips equipped and manned by them alone, exceeded in number thoſe of all their allies together, although the combined force was conſiderably augmented by the naval ſtrength of Epirus and Acarnania, which, formerly doubtful and irreſolute, had been determined to the ſide of Greece by the fortunate iſſue of the engagements at Artemiſium. The whole Grecian armament, thus increaſed, amounted to three hundred and eighty veſſels. That of the Perſians, which now took poſſeſſion of the Athenian harbours, lying to the ſouth of the ſtrait occupied by the Greeks, had alſo received a powerful reinforcement. The Locrians, Bœotians, and in general every people who had ſubmitted to their arms, readily ſupplying them with ſhips; and ſeveral of the Egean iſlands having at length prepared the quota which they had formerly been commanded to furniſh. We are not exactly informed of the number or ſtrength of the additional ſquadron; but it was ſuppoſed fully to compenſate the loſs occaſioned by

by ſtorms and ſea-fights, and to reſtore the Perſian fleet to its original complement of twelve hundred ſail [9].

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Xerxes determines to fight again at ſea.

Truſting to the immenſe ſuperiority of his armament, Xerxes was ſtill deſirous to make trial of his fortune at ſea, notwithſtanding his former diſaſters on that element. But before he came to a final reſolution, he ſummoned a council of war, in order to hear the opinion of his maritime ſubjects or allies. The tributary kings of Tyre and Sidon, the leaders of the Egyptians, Cyprians, and Cilicians, ever ready to flatter the paſſions of their ſovereign, offered many frivolous reaſons in favour of the alternative to which they perceived him inclined. But in the fleet of Xerxes there was a Grecian queen named Artemiſia, widow of the prince of Halicarnaſſus, and who had aſſumed the government of that city and territory for the benefit of her infant ſon. Compelled by the order of Xerxes, or perhaps irritated againſt the Athenians for ſome reaſons which hiſtory does not record, ſhe not only fitted out five ſhips to attend the Perſian expedition, but took upon herſelf the command of her little ſquadron, and on every occaſion conducted it with equal ſkill and bravery. Such vigour of mind, united with ſo delicate a form, deſerved to excite admiration in every part of the world; but the manly ſpirit of Artemiſia becomes ſtill more admirable, when we conſider the ſevere reſtraints which have been in all ages impoſed on the female

Is powerfully diſſuaded from that meaſure by Artemiſia.

[9] Herodot. Diodor. ubi ſupra; & Plut. in Themiſtocle.

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ſex, by the manners and climate of Aſia. Her ſuperior genius recommended her to the peculiar favour of Xerxes, who was obliged to eſteem in a woman the virtues which he himſelf wanted ſpirit to practiſe. Truſting to his advantageous opinion of her courage and fidelity, Artemiſia diſſented from the general voice of the allies, and even oppoſed the inclination of the prince. "Her former exploits on the coaſt of Eubœa afforded ſufficient proof that her preſent advice was not the child of timidity. She had been ever forward to expoſe her perſon and her fame in the ſervice of the great king; but it was impoſſible to diſſemble the manifeſt ſuperiority of the Greeks in naval affairs. Yet, were the two armaments as much on a foot of equality in point of bravery and experience, as they were unequal in numbers, what motive could induce Xerxes to venture another engagement at ſea? Was he not already in poſſeſſion of Athens, the great object of the war? The Spartans, who had oppoſed his progreſs at Thermopylæ, had reaped the juſt fruits of their temerity: thoſe aſſembled at the iſthmus of Corinth might eaſily be involved in a ſimilar fate. The Peloponneſus might then be laid waſte by fire and ſword, which would complete the deſtruction of Greece. Inſtead of proceeding immediately to that peninſula, ſhould Xerxes chooſe to continue only a few weeks in the Attic territory, four hundred Grecian ſhips could not long be ſupplied with proviſions from the barren rocks of Salamis. Neceſſity muſt compel them to ſurrender, or drive them to their reſpective

reſpective cities, where they would become an eaſy prey to the Perſian arms." Theſe judicious obſervations were heard without approbation; the worſt opinion prevailed, being the beſt adapted to flatter the vanity of Xerxes.

Deliberations of the Greeks.

When the Grecian commanders obſerved that the enemy prepared to venture another engagement at ſea, they likewiſe aſſembled to deliberate whether they ſhould continue in the ſtrait between Salamis and Attica, or proceed further up the gulph, towards the Corinthian iſthmus. The latter propoſal was generally approved by the confederates of Peloponneſus, who anxiouſly deſired, in the preſent emergency, to approach as near as poſſible to their reſpective cities. Some haſtened to their ſhips, and hoiſted ſail, in order to depart; and it ſeemed likely that their example would be ſoon followed by the whole fleet. On board the ſhip of Themiſtocles was Mneſiphilus, formerly mentioned as the inſtructor of his youth, and who now accompanied him as his counſellor and friend. The experienced wiſdom of Mneſiphilus readily diſcerned, that ſhould the Greeks ſail from Salamis, it would be impoſſible to prevent the general diſperſion of their armament. He therefore exhorted Themiſtocles, to endeavour, by all means poſſible, to prevent this fatal meaſure; and particularly to perſuade the Spartan admiral, Euribiades, to alter his preſent intention.

Guided by the abilities of Themiſtocles,

Themiſtocles readily embraced the opinion of his friend. Having waited on Euribiades, he obtained his conſent to ſummon a ſecond aſſembly

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of the confederates. After they were fully convened, the Athenian began to call their attention to the ſtate of their affairs; but his diſcourſe was inſolently interrupted by Adimantus, the commander of the Corinthians, who had conſtantly diſcovered a particular ſolicitude for returning to the iſthmus. Themiſtocles, no leſs prudent than brave, anſwered his reproaches with calmneſs, and then addreſſing himſelf to Euribiades, "The fate of Greece," ſaid he, "depends on the deciſion of the preſent moment, and that deciſion on you; if you reſolve to ſail to the iſthmus, we muſt abandon Salamis, Megara, and Ægina; we ſhall be compelled to fight in an open ſea, where the enemy may fully avail themſelves of their ſuperior numbers; and as the Perſian army will certainly attend the motions of their fleet, we ſhall draw their combined ſtrength towards the Grecian peninſula, our laſt and only retreat. But if you determine to retain the ſhips in their preſent ſtation, the Perſians will find it impoſſible, in a narrow channel, to attack us at once with their whole force: we ſhall preſerve Megara and Salamis, and we ſhall effectually defend Peloponneſus; for the Barbarians being, as I firmly truſt, defeated in a naval engagement, will not penetrate further than Attica, but return home with diſgrace." He had ſcarcely ended his words, when Adimantus broke forth into new invectives, affecting ſurpriſe that Euribiades ſhould liſten to a man who, ſince the taking of Athens, had not any city to defend: that the Athenians ought *then* to have a voice in the council,

when they could ſay they had a home. Themiſtocles replied, "that the Athenians had indeed undervalued their private eſtates and poſſeſſions, in compariſon of their political independence, and the general ſafety of Greece, and glorioufly abandoned their *city* in defence of their *country*. But notwithſtanding this ſacrifice for the public good, they had ſtill an home far more valuable than Corinth, two hundred ſhips of war well armed and manned which no nation of Greece could reſiſt. That ſhould the confederates perſiſt in their preſent dangerous reſolution, the Athenians would in theſe ſhips embark their wives and families; deſert a country, which had firſt forſaken itſelf; and repair to the coaſt of Italy, where it was foretold by ancient oracles, that Athens ſhould, in ſome future time, form a great and flouriſhing ſettlement. That the Greeks would then remember and regret the advice of Themiſtocles, when, abandoned by the moſt conſiderable part of their allies, they became an eaſy prey to the Barbarian invader." The firmneſs of this diſcourſe ſhook the reſolution of the confederates; and it was determined by the majority to continue at Salamis. CHAP. X.

Between this important reſolve and the engagement, there intervened a moment of the moſt anxious ſolicitude. The minds of men, impreſſed with the awful idea of the events about to be tranſacted, were thrown off their ordinary bias; and as the operations of nature, and the agency of inviſible beings, are always fondly connected in the imagination with the momentous concerns of human

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life, the Greeks felt, or believed they felt, extraordinary convulſions of the elements; they ſaw, or fancied they ſaw, hideous ſpectres in the air; and heard, or imagined they heard, the moſt terrible and threatening voices [10]. But all theſe ſtrange and ſupernatural appearances, which would otherwiſe have been doubtful or alarming, were proved, by a clear and explicit oracle, to foretel the deſtruction of the Barbarians.

ready to change their opinion;

Notwithſtanding this favourable intimation of the divine will, which was carefully improved by the wiſdom and eloquence of Themiſtocles, the Peloponneſians were ready to return to their firſt determination. A veſſel arriving from the Iſthmus, brought advice that the fortifications there were almoſt completed; if the fleet retired to the neighbouring ſhore, the ſailors might, even after a defeat at ſea, take refuge behind their walls; but if conquered near the coaſts of Salamis, they would be forever ſeparated from their families and friends, and confined, without hope or reſource, within the narrow limits of a barren iſland. In important alternatives, when the arguments on each ſide are almoſt equally perſuaſive, the party which we have embraced often appears the worſt, merely becauſe we have embraced it. Any new circumſtance or conſideration is always capable of changing the balance, and we haſtily approve what we rejected after much deliberation. Leſt this propenſity ſhould, as there was much reaſon to fear, again

prevented by a daring mea-

[10] Lyſias Fun. Orat. Herodot. ibid.

diſconcert

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diſconcert his meaſures, Themiſtocles determined to prevent the Greeks from the poſſibility of gratifying it. There commonly lived in his family a man named Sicinus, who at preſent accompanied him. He was originally a ſlave, and employed in the education of his children; but by the generoſity of his patron, had acquired the rank of citizen, with conſiderable riches. The firmneſs and fidelity of this man rendered him a proper inſtrument for executing a ſtratagem, which concealed, under the maſk of treachery, the enthuſiaſm of public virtue. Having received his inſtructions from Themiſtocles, he privately ſailed to the Perſian fleet, and obtaining admiſſion into the preſence of Xerxes, declared, "That he had been ſent by the captain of the Athenians, who could no longer endure the inſolence of his countrymen, to acquaint the great king, that the Greeks, ſeized with conſternation at the near approach of danger, had determined to make their eſcape under cover of the night; that now was the time for the Perſians to atchieve the moſt glorious of all their exploits, and, by intercepting the flight of their enemies, accompliſh their deſtruction at once [11]." The deceit was believed; the whole day, and the greateſt part of the ſucceeding night, the Perſians employed in ſecuring the ſeveral paſſages between the iſlands and the adjacent coaſt; and that nothing might be neglected that could contribute to their ſucceſs, they filled the little iſle, or rather rock, of Pſyttalea,

Deceit of Themiſtocles.

[11] Herodot. l. viii. c. lxxv.

lying

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lying between Salamis and the continent, with the flower of the Perſian infantry, in order to intercept the miſerable remnant of the Greeks, who, after the expected defeat, would fly thither for refuge.

His interview with Ariſtides.

The firſt intelligence of theſe operations was brought to the Grecian fleet by Ariſtides the Athenian, who ſeems not to have availed himſelf of the general act of indemnity to return from baniſhment, but who readily embraced every opportunity to ſerve his country. Having with difficulty eſcaped in a ſmall veſſel from the iſle of Ægina, the generous patriot immediately communicated an account of what he had ſeen there to his rival and enemy, Themiſtocles, who, meeting his generoſity with equal frankneſs, made him the confidant of his ſecret. Their interview was as memorable as the occaſion; and, after a continued life of oppoſition and hatred, they now firſt agreed to ſuſpend their private animoſities, in order to promote the common intereſt of their country. As the Peloponneſian commanders were either wavering and irreſolute, or had determined to ſet ſail, Ariſtides was deſired to inform them of the arrangement which he had ſeen; the conſideration of his country however rendered his evidence ſuſpected, and it was imagined that he meant to ſacrifice the general intereſt of the confederates to the ſafety of the Athenian families in Salamis. But the arrival of a veſſel belonging to the iſle of Tenos confirmed the veracity of his report, and the Peloponneſians reſolved

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reſolved to fight, becauſe it was impoſſible to fly [12].

Sea-fight off the iſle of Salamis.

Before the dawn of the day the Grecian ſhips were drawn up in order of battle; and the Perſians, who had been ſurpriſed at not finding them attempt to eſcape during night, were ſtill more ſurpriſed when morning diſcovered their cloſe and regular arrangement. The Greeks began with the light their ſacred hymns and pœans, which preceded their triumphant ſongs of war, accompanied by the animating ſound of the trumpet. The ſhores of Attica re-echoed to the rocks of Salamis and Pſyttalea. The Grecian acclamations filled the ſky. Neither their appearance nor their words betokened flight or fear, but rather determined intrepidity and invincible courage. Yet was their valour tempered with wiſdom. Themiſtocles delayed the attack until the ordinary breeze ſhould ſpring up, which was no leſs favourable to the experience of the Grecian mariners, than dangerous to the lofty unwieldineſs of the Perſian ſhips [13]. The ſignal was then given for the Athenian line to bear down againſt that of the Phœnicians, which rode on the weſt, off the coaſt of Eleuſis; while the Peloponneſians advanced againſt the enemy's left wing ſtationed on the eaſt, near the harbour of the Piræus. The Perſians, confiding in their number, and ſecure of victory, did not decline the fight. A Phœnician galley, of uncommon ſize and ſtrength, was diſtinguiſhed in the front of their

[12] Herodot. l. viii. c. lxxix. & ſeq.

[13] Id. ibid.

line

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line by every circumſtance of naval pomp. In the eagerneſs to engage, ſhe far outſtripped her companions; but her career was checked midway between the two fleets by an Athenian galley which had ſailed forth to meet her. The firſt ſhock ſhattered her ſculptured prow, the ſecond buried her in the waves. The Athenians, encouraged by this auſpicious prelude, proceeded with their whole force, animating each other to the combat by a martial ſong: "Advance, ye ſons of Athens, ſave your country, defend your wives and children, deliver the temples of your gods, regain the ſacred tombs of your renowned forefathers; *this day*, the common cauſe of Greece demands your valour." The battle was bloody and deſtructive, and diſputed on the ſide of the Perſians with more obſtinate reſiſtance than on any former occaſion; for, from the Attic coaſt, ſeated on a lofty throne on the top of Mount Ægialos, Xerxes obſerved the ſcene of action, and attentively remarked, with a view to reward and puniſh, the various behaviour of his ſubjects. The preſence of their prince operated on their hopes, and ſtill more powerfully on their fears. But neither the hope of acquiring the favour, nor the fear of incurring the diſpleaſure of a deſpot, could furniſh principles of action worthy of being compared with the patriotiſm and love of liberty which actuated the Greeks. To the dignity of their motives, as much as to the ſuperiority of their ſkill, the latter owed their unexampled ſucceſs in this memorable engagement. The foremoſt ſhips of the Phœnicians were diſperſed or ſunk.

Amidſt

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The Perſians totally defeated.

Amidſt the terror and confuſion occaſioned by their repulſe, they ran foul of thoſe which had been drawn up in two lines behind them. The Athenians ſkilfully encircled them around, compreſſed them into a narrower ſpace, and increaſed their diſorder; they were at length entangled in each other, deprived of all power of action, and, to uſe the humble, but expreſſive figure of an eye-witneſs, "caught and deſtroyed like fiſh in a net[14]." Such was the fate of the right wing; while the Ionians, who, on the left, oppoſed the fleets of Peloponneſus and Ægina, furniſhed them with an opportunity to complete the victory. Many of the Aſiatic Greeks; mindful of the advice given by Themiſtocles, abandoned the intereſt of the great king, and openly declared for their countrymen; others declined the engagement; the remainder were ſunk or put to flight. Among thoſe which eſcaped was the ſhip of queen Artemiſia, who in the battle of Salamis diſplayed ſuperior courage and conduct: ſhe was cloſely purſued by an Athenian galley, commanded by Amenias, brother of the poet Æſchylus. In this extremity, ſhe employed a ſucceſsful, but very unwarrantable ſtratagem. The neareſt Perſian veſſel was commanded by Damaſithymus, a tributary prince of Calynda in Lycia, a man with whom Artemiſia was at variance. With great dexterity ſhe darted the beak of her galley againſt the Lycian veſſel. Damaſithymus was buried in the waves; and Amenias,

[14] Æſchylus Perſæ.

deceived

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deceived by this meaſure, equally artful and audacious, believed the veſſel of Artemiſia one of thoſe which had deſerted the Perſian intereſt. The Phœnician and Ionian ſquadrons (for that of the Egyptians had been exceedingly weakened by the action on the coaſt of Eubœa) formed the main ſtrength of the Perſian armament; after theſe were defeated, the ſhips at a diſtance ventured not to advance, but haſtily changing ſail, meaſured back their courſe to the Athenian and other neighbouring harbours. The victors diſdaining to purſue them, dragged the moſt valuable part of the wreck to the coaſts of Pſyttalea and Salamis. The narrow ſeas were covered with the floating carcaſes of the dead, among whom were few Greeks, as even thoſe who loſt their ſhips in the engagement, ſaved their lives by ſwimming, an art which they univerſally learned as a neceſſary branch of education, and with which the Barbarians were totally unacquainted [15].

Xerxes had ſcarcely time to conſider and deplore the deſtruction and diſgrace of his fleet, when a new ſpectacle, not leſs mournful, offered itſelf to his ſight. The flower of the Perſian infantry had taken poſt, as we have already obſerved, on the rocky iſle of Pſyttalea, in order to receive the ſhattered remains of the Grecian armament, which, after its expected defeat, would naturally take refuge on that barren coaſt. But equally fallacious and fatal was their conjecture concerning the event

[15] Before this period, it was a law at Athens and other ſtates, τες παιδας διδασκισθαι γραμματα τε και νειν; that boys firſt learn reading and ſwimming. Sam. Petit. de Leg. Att. p. 11.

of

of the battle. The Greeks, diſembarking from their ſhips, attacked, in the enthuſiaſm of victory, thoſe aſtoniſhed troops, who, unable to reſiſt, and finding it impoſſible to fly, were cut down to a man. As Xerxes beheld this dreadful havoc, he ſtarted in wild agitation from his ſilver throne, rent his royal robes, and, in the firſt moment of his returning tranquillity, commanded the main body of his forces, poſted along the Athenian coaſt, to return to their reſpective camps.

Xerxes determines to leave Greece.

From that moment he reſolved to return with all poſſible expedition into Aſia. Yet did his fears and his policy conceal, for a few days, the deſign, not only from the Grecian but from the Perſian generals. Mardonius alone was too well acquainted with the genius of his maſter, to believe that his concern for the ſafety of his illuſtrious perſon would allow him to remain longer than neceſſary in a country which had been the ſcene of ſo many calamities. The artful courtier availed himſelf of the important ſecret, to divert the ſtorm of royal reſentment which threatened the principal author of this inglorious undertaking. In his firſt interview with Xerxes, he exhorted him, "not to be too deeply affected by the defeat of his fleet: that he had come to fight againſt the Greeks, not with rafts of wood, but with ſoldiers and horſes: that the valour of the Perſians had oppoſed all reſiſtance, and their invincible ſovereign was now maſter of Athens, the main object of his ambition: that having accompliſhed the principal end of the enterpriſe, it was time for the great king to return from

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from the fatigues of war to the cares of government, for with three hundred thouſand choſen men he would undertake to proſecute his deſigns, and to complete his victory." Such is the language of adulation, too often held to princes. The other courtiers confirmed, by their approbation, the advice of Mardonius; and the Perſian monarch, while he obeyed the dictates of his own puſillanimity, ſeemed to leave Greece in reluctant compliance with the anxious ſolicitude of his ſubjects.

Mardonius remains there with 300,000 men.

The miſerable retreat of his army.

The remains of the Perſian fleet, frightened from the coaſt of Greece, returned to the harbours of Aſia Minor, and afterwards aſſembled and rendezvouſed, during the enſuing winter, in the port of Cymé. The tranſports were ordered to the Helleſpont, on the banks of which Xerxes arrived with his troops in forty-five days, after intolerable hardſhips and fatigue. Famine and peſtilence filled up the meaſure of their calamities; and, excepting the three hundred thouſand choſen men committed to Mardonius, a detachment of whom guarded the royal perſon to the coaſt, ſcarcely a remnant was left of ſo many millions[16]. The bridge oſtentatiouſly erected on the Helleſpont would have preſented, had it remained intire, a mortifying monument of paſt greatneſs. But this magnificent fabric had been deſtroyed by a tempeſt: and ſuch is the obſcurity with which Xerxes returned from Greece, compared with the blaze of

[16] Ουδεν μερος ὡς εἰπαι, ſays Herodotus, emphatically.

grandeur

grandeur in which he arrived there, that it is uncertain whether he croſſed the channel in a Phœnician ſhip of war, or only in a fiſhing-boat [17]. Having returned to Sardis, he endeavoured to compenſate for the diſappointment of ambition by the gratification of ſenſuality, and buried himſelf in pleaſures more infamous and degrading, and not leſs frightfully criminal, than all the diſgrace which his pride had incurred, and all the calamities which his ſubjects had either inflicted or ſuffered [18].

Meaſures taken by the Greeks after their victory.

When the Greeks had leiſure to examine the extent and completeneſs of their ſucceſs, they determined, in the firſt emotions of triumph and reſentment, to purſue the ſhattered remains of the enemy. That no Barbarian might eſcape, they purpoſed immediately to ſail northward, to deſtroy the Perſian bridge over the Helleſpont, and thus to intercept their return. This deſign was recommended, and chiefly ſupported by the Athenians, who having experienced the greateſt ſhare of the danger, felt moſt ſenſibly the joys of deliverance. But upon more mature deliberation, it occurred that the Perſians were ſtill ſufficiently numerous to afford juſt grounds of terror. To their cowardice and inexperience, not to their want of ſtrength, the Greeks owed all their advantages over them; but ſhould the impoſſibility of retreat be added to their other calamities, they might derive courage

[17] Confer Herod. Juſtin. Corn. Nepos.
[18] Herod. & Diodor. ibid.

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from deſpair, and, by efforts hitherto unexerted, repair the conſequences of their paſt errors and misfortunes. Theſe conſiderations, firſt ſuggeſted, it is ſaid, by Euribiades the Spartan, were adopted by Themiſtocles, who convinced his countrymen that the jealouſy of the Grecian gods, unwilling that one man ſhould be lord of Europe and Aſia, rather than their own proweſs, had given them the victory over Xerxes; a prince of ſuch folly and madneſs, that he had treated with equal irreverence things human and divine, deſtroyed the ſacred temples, overthrown the venerable altars and images, and impiouſly inſulted the gods of the Helleſpont with ſtripes and fetters. That it was the duty of the Athenians, after having gloriouſly repelled the common enemy, to provide for the ſubſiſtence of their wives and families, to ſow their lands, rebuild their houſes, and thus to repair, by the moſt induſtrious activity, the dreadful ravages committed in their territories [19].

Bold ſtratagem of Themiſtocles.

Themiſtocles had no ſooner perſuaded the Athenians to embrace his opinion, than he ſecretly diſpatched his confidant Sicinus to acquaint the great king with the danger which he had ſo nearly eſcaped; and to adviſe him to purſue his journey with all poſſible expedition. Xerxes readily believed a piece of information, which agreed with the ſuggeſtions of his own timidity. The rapidity of his march conſpired with other circumſtances above mentioned in proving fatal to the lives of

[19] Herodot. l. viii. c. cviii. & ſeqq.

his

his followers; and the crafty Athenian, who knowing the unſtable affections of the multitude, wiſhed to deſerve the gratitude of a king, gained the double advantage of diſpelling ſooner than could otherwiſe have happened, that deſtructive cloud of Barbarians which hovered over his country, and of convincing their leader, that he was in part indebted for his ſafety to that very man whoſe counſels, rather than the arms of Greece, had occaſioned his affliction and diſgrace.

The victory at Salamis terminated the ſecond act of the Perſian expedition, which has, with much propriety, been compared to a tragedy. The Greeks ſoon underſtood that, notwithſtanding the return of Xerxes, three hundred thouſand men, commanded by Mardonius, were cantoned for the winter in Thrace, Macedon, and Theſſaly, with a deſign to take the field early in the ſpring, and again to try the fortune of war. This intelligence deterred the Athenians from bringing home their wives and children, as they originally intended, from Træzene, Salamis, and Ægina, becauſe they had reaſon to dread that their country would experience new effects of Barbarian reſentment. It appears, however, that a few citizens, more ſanguine in their hopes than the reſt, returned to their ancient habitations; while the greater part continued on board the fleet, or went to reſide with their friends in the Peloponneſus.

Employment of the Greeks during the winter.

According to modern ideas, it would be natural to expect, that, under the apprehenſion of another formidable invaſion, the Greeks ſhould have em-

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ployed the winter in raiſing contributions, levying and diſciplining troops, and concerting proper meaſures for the public defence. But ſuch preparations were in ſome degree unneceſſary, becauſe in the Grecian republics almoſt every citizen was a ſoldier; and the different ſtates were at all times too weakly united, to agree in any uniform plan of operations. Beſides, the cuſtoms and prejudices of that early age obliged them to obſerve many forms and ceremonies, which interfered with employments ſeemingly more uſeful, on ſuch an important emergency. We find, accordingly, that inſtead of increaſing or improving their military eſtabliſhment, the Greeks ſpent the winter [20] in dividing the ſpoil; aſſigning to the different commanders the prizes of conduct and valour; performing the laſt offices to the dead; celebrating their games and feſtivals; and diſplaying, both in the multitude of their prayers, and in the magnificence of their offerings, the warmeſt gratitude to their protecting divinities. The dedications to the gods were intrinſically valuable. The rewards beſtowed on their generals were ſimple tokens of public eſteem. The firſt conſiſted in vaſes, ſtatues, and other ornaments of gold and ſilver; the ſecond in a wreath of pine, laurel, or olive: a circumſtance which made Tigranes the Perſian exclaim, "Heavens! againſt what men have we come to contend? inſenſible to intereſt, they fight only for glory!"

[20] Herodot. l. viii. c. cxxi. & ſeqq.

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Of the Athenians and Themiſtocles.

It is not ſurpriſing, that the inſtitutions of Greece ſhould have deceived an untutored Barbarian, when we conſider that even the modern philoſopher and hiſtorian have been too often dazzled by their ſplendour. Yet notwithſtanding what Tigranes believed, and what, from the fond admiration of antiquity, many modern writers have aſſerted, the indiſcriminate praiſe of diſintereſtedneſs by no means belonged to the Grecians. When the commanders of their ſeveral ſhips and ſquadrons aſſembled to regulate the diſtribution of naval and military rewards, each captain, with a ſelfiſhneſs equally indelicate and unjuſt, arrogated to himſelf the firſt prize of merit; though moſt of them acknowledged the deſert of Themiſtocles as ſecond to their own[21]. This general aſſignment of the ſecond, while all alike aſſumed the firſt place, was equivalent to a public declaration in favour of the Athenian: and the honours which were conferred on him, both in his own country and in Sparta, ſufficiently confirmed the deciſion. The uſual marks of the public eſteem were not indeed attended with any immediate profit; but their conſequences were extremely beneficial. Supported by the favourable opinion of his countrymen, a commander by ſea or land frequently attained an authority, the exerciſe of which was equally adapted to flatter pride and to gratify avarice. The behaviour of Themiſtocles, after he had acquired ſufficient merit with the public to juſtify his rapacity,

[21] Herodot. l. viii. c. xxiii.

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affords one memorable example of this kind; and we ſhall meet with many more, in examining the ſubſequent events of the Grecian hiſtory. Inſtead of remaining at home, in order to concert a plan for repelling the danger which threatened his country, the Athenian commander ſailed with a little ſquadron to the Cyclades, laid theſe unfortunate iſlands under an heavy contribution, and without the participation, or even knowledge of his colleagues in command, enriched himſelf and his favourites [22].

Mardonius prepares to open the campaign.

On the approach of ſpring, Mardonius prepared to take the field. His army conſiſted of the Medes, Perſians, Scythians, and Indians; and though reduced from the millions which followed Xerxes to about three hundred thouſand men, it was thereby rather delivered from an uſeleſs incumbrance, than deprived of any real ſtrength. Before marching from Theſſaly, his ſuperſtition engaged him to conſult the Grecian oracles, and moved probably by an erroneous explanation of their ambiguous reſponſes, he determined to try the effect of negociation, before he had recourſe to arms. He might treat either with individuals, or with communities. By the former method, the Thebans aſſured him, that he might become maſter of Greece, without hazarding a battle. "You have only," ſaid they, "to ſend money to the leading men in the ſeveral republics. In this manner you will divide each ſtate into factions; engage them in a civil war;

[22] Herodot. l. viii. c. lxxv.

and,

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Endeavours to detach the Athenians from their allies;

and, when exhauſted by mutual hoſtilities, they will readily ſubmit to your demands." Mardonius, inſtead of purſuing this judicious ſyſtem, which would probably have been ſucceſsful, ſent Alexander, king of Macedon, to treat with ſuch Athenians as had returned to their city. This illuſtrious ambaſſador, who boaſted an Argive extraction, was the tributary prince of a barbarous country; but of a country deſtined, in a future age, to attain empire and renown, by the arts of Philip and the arms of his immortal ſon. The firſt Alexander was peculiarly well qualified for executing the office with which Mardonius had entruſted him, becauſe his family had long been connected with the republic of Athens, by the ſacred ties of hoſpitality. But his commiſſion was as unwelcome as his viſit was acceptable. The Athenians, therefore, delayed calling an aſſembly to hear and anſwer his diſcourſe, until the Spartans (who were appriſed of the intention of Mardonius) ſhould ſend ambaſſadors to aſſiſt at the deliberation. When all parties were convened, Alexander declared, "That he was ſent on the part of Mardonius, who had received a meſſage from the great king, intimating his will to forgive their paſt injuries, to reinſtate them in their poſſeſſions, to rebuild their houſes and temples, and to receive them into the number of his friends and confederates." Mardonius then ſpoke for himſelf: "What madneſs, O Athenians, can impel you to maintain war againſt a monarch, whom you cannot expect *ever* to conquer, nor hope *always* to reſiſt? You are acquainted with the

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number and proweſs of the troops under my command, which, formidable as they are, make but a ſmall part of the unbounded reſources of Xerxes. Every year he can invade you with an increaſing ſuperiority of ſtrength; ſubmit, therefore, to a power which it is impoſſible to oppoſe; profit, ere it be too late, of the diſpoſition of the great king, and accept the offer of an alliance which folly alone, not fortitude and firmneſs, can engage you to decline." Alexander endeavoured to add weight to theſe conſiderations, by obſerving, "That his paſt conduct had uniformly proved the ſincerity of his attachment to the Athenians; and that he was firmly convinced of the expediency, and even neceſſity of the meaſures now in agitation, otherwiſe he ſhould not have undertaken to propoſe them. He therefore exhorted them to reflect on the advantages which would accrue to them from being alone, of all the Greeks, admitted into the alliance of Xerxes; to reflect alſo on the dreadful conſequences which would attend their refuſal, ſince their country, placed as a prize between the contending parties, would thereby be expoſed to inevitable deſtruction [23]."

but without ſucceſs.

As ſoon as Alexander had ended his diſcourſe, the Lacedæmonian ambaſſadors repreſented to the aſſembly, "That they had been ſent on the part of their republic, to thwart the meaſures of the Barbarians, with whom, in order to reſent the quarrel of her Athenian allies, Sparta had engaged in a bloody and deſtructive war. Could the Athenians then, for whoſe ſake alone the war which now

[23] Herodot. l. viii. c. cxl.

extended

extended over all Greece was originally undertaken, abandon their friends and confederates, whoſe ſervices they had every reaſon to approve? Could they aſſociate with Barbarians, whoſe hoſtilities they had every reaſon to reſent? Sparta affectionately ſympathiſed with their ſufferings, in the loſs of their houſes and their harveſts; yet the confederates in general had endeavoured to prevent or repair the unhappy conſequences of their loſs: they had maintained their wives and families, ſupported and educated their helpleſs children, cheriſhed and ſuſtained the declining years of their parents. Their generoſity was not yet exhauſted; if the Athenians ſhould be compelled again to abandon their country, they would again find the ſame hoſpitable reception in Peloponneſus; and their families, if it became neceſſary, would be maintained at the common expence, during the continuance of the war. Let them not, therefore, be deceived by the ſpecious words of the tyrant Alexander, who, at the expence of truth, endeavoured to promote the intereſt of a tyrant like himſelf. The Athenians ought to remember, that neither juſtice, nor honour, nor fidelity, can be expected from Tyrants and Barbarians[24]." Having thus ſpoken, the Lacedæmonians, as well as Alexander, withdrew; and the Athenians, after a ſhort deliberation, anſwered both parties by the voice of Ariſtides, who, as archon, or chief magiſtrate, preſided in the aſſembly; firſt, to the Macedonian, they replied, "That as they were ſufficiently acquainted with the ſtrength

[24] Herodot. l. viii, c. cxlii.

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of Xerxes, he might have ſpared them the inſult of deſcribing its vaſt ſuperiority to their own. Yet, in defence of liberty, there was no power too great to oppoſe. Return then, and tell Mardonius, that the Athenians will never make peace with Xerxes, while the ſun performs his annual courſe in the heavens; but that, truſting to the aſſiſtance of the Gods and Heroes, whoſe temples and images the tyrant has impiouſly deſtroyed, we will reſiſt him to the laſt extremity. To conclude: Come not a ſecond time to Athens with ſuch meſſages, the inſolence of which may make us forget that you are our friend, and connected with us by the ſacred ties of reciprocal hoſpitality." The anſwer given to the Lacedæmonian ambaſſadors was delivered in a ſtill higher ſtrain of patriotiſm: "That the Barbarians, or even the peaſants of Laconia, ſhould ſuppoſe us capable of coming to an accommodation with the Perſians, does not ſurpriſe us; but it is indeed ſurpriſing that you, citizens of Sparta, ſhould entertain the ſame groundleſs fears; you, who have ſo often heard by report, and who, on ſo many occaſions, have yourſelves witneſſed, the diſintereſted magnanimity of our republic. Know then, that the richeſt poſſeſſions on earth, that all the treaſures of the great king, are not ſufficient to ſeduce our unalterable attachment to Greece. The laws of God and man equally forbid our ingratitude; or if all ties of *duty* were diſſolved, our *reſentment* againſt the Perſians would reſtrain us. We muſt avenge our plundered altars, our proſtrate images, our deſolated temples. We muſt avenge

avenge the cauſe of our allies, and our own; for all the Greeks have the ſame religion, language, lineage, and manners; and, while an Athenian ſurvives, will never, with his conſent, make peace with the Barbarians. We acknowledge with gratitude your proffered kindneſs to our families; but henceforth we hope to provide for them, without giving the confederates any trouble on their account. What we requeſt of you is, that your army march with all poſſible expedition towards Bœotia, that our united reſiſtance may ſtop the progreſs of the Barbarian, who, as ſoon as he is appriſed of our determined hoſtility, will not fail to proceed ſouthward, to invade Attica a ſecond time[25]."

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The Peloponneſians deſert the common cauſe.

This conjecture was juſtified by the event. The Perſians within a few weeks marched into Bœotia, but the Athenians looked in vain for the expected arrival of their Spartan auxiliaries. To have witneſſed the proceedings juſt deſcribed in the Athenian aſſembly, we ſhould have imagined that there was a generous conteſt of patriotiſm between the two republics; and that the happineſs and glory of Greece, not the intereſt of their particular communities, was the great object of their ambition. But the Greeks had often much patriotiſm in their ſpeeches, when there was little in their hearts; and the Spartans, who had lately employed ſuch powerful arguments to engage Athens in defence of the common cauſe, totally abandoned their principles whenever it ſuited their convenience[26]. Inſtead of iſſuing

[25] Herodot. l. viii. c. cxl. & ſeq.

[26] Lyſias, Orat. Funeb.

forth

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forth in order to ſupport their allies in Bœotia, they remained within the iſthmus, and endeavoured to fortify that inlet into their territory with ſuch additional walls and bulwarks as might render it impenetrable. The work was now complete; and the Peloponneſians, ſecure, as they imagined, behind this ſolid rampart, equally diſregarded the ſafety, and deſpiſed the reſentment, of their northern allies.

Magnanimity of the Athenians.

The Athenians, a ſecond time forſaken by their confederates, were obliged again to deſert their country. They had ſcarcely ſailed to their families in Salamis, when Attica was invaded by the Perſians. While the fugitives continued in that iſland, they received another embaſſy from Mardonius, offering them the ſame terms which they had formerly rejected. They ſtill perſiſted in rejecting them; in conſequence of which, they beheld, without apparent uneaſineſs, from the ſhores of Salamis, their territories [27] again laid waſte; their cities, and villas, and temples, devoured by the flames; and every thing that had eſcaped the fury of the firſt invaſion, deſtroyed or conſumed by the ſecond. After committing theſe ravages, which, as he had already obtained complete poſſeſſion of the country, deſerved to be conſidered only as the effect of a childiſh reſentment, Mardonius returned into Bœotia, that his troops might be ſupplied with proviſions, and that, ſhould the enemy offer them battle, they might engage in a country better adapted than Attica to the operations of cavalry.

27 Herodot. l. ix. c. i. & ſeqq.

The

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The Athenians, who had been ſent from Salamis to remonſtrate with the Spartan council againſt the delays or deſertion of the Peloponneſians, were accompanied by the ambaſſadors of Platæa and Megara, who confirmed their arguments and complaints. With the indignation of diſappointed confidence, they upbraided the indifference and lukewarmneſs of the Spartans in the common cauſe; ſentiments which ill correſponded with their own generous ardour. They contraſted the baſe treachery of Sparta, formerly the honour, now the diſgrace of Greece, with the patriotic magnanimity of Athens. The latter, they obſerved, compelled by neceſſity, or urged by reſentment of the ſhameful dereliction on the part of her allies, would doubtleſs accept the terms offered by Mardonius, and then the Peloponneſians muſt become ſenſible, when it was too late, that the wall acroſs the iſthmus formed but a partial and feeble defence; and however it might ſecure them from inroads on the ſide of the land, would ill protect their coaſts againſt the deſcents of the Perſian, reinforced by the Athenian fleet [28].

They remonſtrate with their confederates.

Whether the eloquence of the ambaſſadors, or the returning ſenſe of public utility, overcame the puſillanimous reſolutions formerly embraced by the Spartans, it is certain that they now firſt determined to take the field. Five thouſand Spartan pike-men were accompanied by thirty-five thouſand Helots. Their Peloponneſian allies ſent their re-

Perſuade them to take the field.

[28] Lyſias, Orat. Funeb.

ſpective

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ſpective contingents; ſo that the heavy-armed men raiſed in the peninſula exceeded twenty thouſand, commanded by Pauſanias, the guardian and kinſman of Pliſtarchus, ſon of Leonidas. Having marched beyond the iſthmus, they were joined by Ariſtides, at the head of eight thouſand Athenians, and by a ſuperior number of their allies of Megara, Theſpiæ, Platæa, Salamis, Eubœa, and Ægina. The whole heavy-armed troops amounted to nearly forty thouſand; the light-armed were the thirty-five thouſand Helots, attendants on the Spartans, and about as many more, one to each ſoldier, attended the other diviſions of the army [29].

Mardonius encamps on the Æſopus, in Bœotia;

Mardonius having marched into Bœotia, encamped on the banks of the Æſopus. His army of three hundred thouſand men, while they waited the enemy's approach, of which they were ſecretly informed by the Argives, were employed in building a ſquare fortification, about five quarters of a mile in front; a work of little utility, ſince it could only defend a ſmall portion of a camp which extended many miles, from the Theban town of Erythræa, to the territory of the Platæans. The Greeks having arrived in thoſe parts, took poſt at the foot of mount Citheron, directly oppoſite to the enemy.

the Greeks on the oppoſite bank.

Incidents preceding the battle of Platæa.

The hoſtile armies remained eleven days in their encampments, during which ſeveral incidents happened, which tend to diſplay the manners and character of thoſe great bodies of men, who were

[29] Herodot. l. ix. c. i. & ſeqq. Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. & Plut. in Ariſtid.

ſoon

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ſoon to attempt the deſtruction of each other. Of the Grecians inhabiting the countries north of Attica, the Phocians, as we have already had occaſion to obſerve, were the leaſt diſpoſed to embrace the cauſe of Mardonius. Yet as all their neighbours had ſubmitted to his arms, they reluctantly ſent to his camp a thouſand ſoldiers, well armed, and commanded by Harmocydes, a citizen of great influence and authority. They had not continued many days in the Perſian army, when an order came from Mardonius (the reaſon was unknown), for the Phocians to be detached from the reſt, and encamped in a ſeparate body on the plain. They had no ſooner obeyed his command, than the whole Perſian cavalry appeared in ſight, and ſoon formed themſelves in hoſtile array. It immediately occurred to the Phocians, and particularly to their prudent commander, that Mardonius, ſuſpecting their fidelity, or yielding to the ſolicitations of their inveterate enemies the Theſſalians, had determined their deſtruction. Harmocydes therefore, pointing to the cavalry, called to his companions, "You ſee thoſe men, who come with an evident intention to deſtroy us: but let us die like Grecians, and exert ourſelves with all the fury of a deſperate defence, rather than tamely ſubmit to a diſhonourable fate." While he yet ſpoke, the Phocians ſeized their arms, arranged themſelves in order of battle, and ſupporting each other in redoubled ranks, preſented on every ſide a firm circle of protended lances. Their warlike appearance ſtruck terror into the ſurrounding cloud of Barbarians, who ad-

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vanced brandiſhing, and a few of the neareſt throwing, their javelins: but farther they ventured not to proceed; the determined countenance of the Greeks ſufficed to repel them; they retired in haſte to the Perſian camp. A herald was then ſent by Mardonius, "deſiring the Phocians to take courage, nor to dread farther hoſtilities; that they had ſhewn themſelves to be brave men, contrary to the account which he had received of them; and, if they diſplayed their valour in the Perſian cauſe, they ſhould find it impoſſible to conquer either Xerxes or himſelf in good offices[30]."

The above relation tends to prove, that none of the Greeks, not even thoſe who joined the enemy, were deficient in courage. Another incident related by the ſame hiſtorian proves, that notwithſtanding the extreme folly of their commanders, the Perſians were not univerſally deficient in wiſdom. While they were encamped on the Æſopus, a wealthy Theban, named Attaginus, invited Mardonius, with fifty of his moſt diſtinguiſhed officers, to a magnificent entertainment. The feaſt was given at Thebes, and an equal number of Bœotians were called to it. Among theſe was Therſander, a native of Orchomenus, and a perſon of the higheſt diſtinction in that city. Two of the gueſts were placed on each couch; and, as Therſander himſelf related to Herodotus, his Perſian companion, after ſupper, entering into converſation in the Greek tongue, teſtified, under the ſeal of ſecrecy, his gloomy ap-

[30] Herodot. l. ix. c. i. & ſeqq.

prehenſions

prehenſions concerning the event of the preſent war. He did not even heſitate to declare his firm perſuaſion, that few Perſians would ſurvive an engagement. When aſked by the Theban, Why he did not communicate this opinion to his general? he ſaid, that men of plain ſenſe and honeſty had ſeldom much influence with the great. It appeared from the whole tenor of his diſcourſe, that there were many people in the Perſian army, who, like himſelf, lamented the mad ambition of Xerxes, and the fatal raſhneſs of Mardonius; and who, while they reſpected their ſtations and dreaded their power, deſpiſed their characters, and condemned their conduct [31]. This obſervation it is proper to make for the honour of human nature. In abſolute governments, it is ſaid that men obey, like a flock of ſheep, the voice of a deſpot; yet it may be ſaid with equal truth, that amidſt the obedience extorted by fear, they often ſee and regret the folly of their ſhepherd.

Skirmiſhes between the Greeks and the Perſian cavalry.

In this ſituation, it was ſcarcely to be expected that the hoſtile camps ſhould remain without frequent ſkirmiſhes. Theſe preludes to the general engagement ended favourably for the Grecians. Three thouſand ſoldiers, furniſhed by the rocky diſtrict of Megara, were poſted on the ſide moſt expoſed to the enemy's cavalry, by whoſe incurſions they had been ſo much haraſſed, that they determined to abandon that difficult ſtation. Before executing their deſign, they ſent a herald to

[31] Herodot. l. ix. c. xv.

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the Grecian generals, intimating the reſolution they had taken from neceſſity, and at the ſame time hinting the injuſtice of detaining them, from the time of their firſt encampment, in a poſt of peculiar danger, which though they had hitherto indeed maintained with ſingular conſtancy and fortitude, they now found themſelves unable longer to defend. Pauſanias addreſſed himſelf ſucceſſively to the whole army, to know whether any diviſion was willing to change poſts with the Megarians. All were ſilent, or declined the propoſal on frivolous pretences. The Athenians alone, actuated by that love of pre-eminence which they did not more ardently deſire than they juſtly deſerved, voluntarily offered their ſervices on this trying occaſion. They had not long occupied the important poſt, when the enemy's cavalry began to aſſault them. The aſſault they repelled with vigour, and Maſiſtius the Perſian general fell in the action. A terrible conflict enſued, according to ancient cuſtom, around the body of the dead. The Athenians at length gained poſſeſſion of it; though they began to give way before the general attack of the horſe, yet upon being ſupported by a reinforcement from the main body, they again recovered their ground, and compelled the Perſians to retire. When the firſt unwelcome meſſengers arrived in the camp with an account of their own defeat, and the death of the general, Mardonius and his attendants burſt into tears; their lamentations were ſoon communicated to the troops, and diffuſed over the army, whoſe plaintive cries filled the whole land of Bœotia-

tia. The Perſians tore their hair, diſfigured their faces, and diſplayed every ſymptom of intolerable woe; for they had loſt Maſiſtius, who in comelineſs and ſtature was the firſt of their generals, and in military courage and addreſs only ſecond to Mardonius [32]. CHAP. X.

The Greeks move to Hyſia, in the territory of Platæa.

The Grecians having thus bravely delivered themſelves from the incurſions of the Perſian cavalry, were now expoſed to a ſtill greater inconvenience, the ſcarcity of freſh water, which ſoon obliged them to decamp. Their late ſucceſs afforded a favourable moment for executing this dangerous meaſure. They proceeded in arms along the foot of mount Citheron, prepared to repel the attack of the enemy, by converting the column of march into an order of battle. They arrived without oppoſition at the place appointed. This was a plain near the village of Hyſia, in the territory of Platæa, interſperſed with many gentle eminences, adorned with a grove and temple ſacred to the genius of the place, and enriched by the copious fountain Gargaphia; a neceſſary reſource to the Greeks, as the enemy, by means of their cavalry and archers, commanded both ſides of the Æſopus.

Diſſenſions in the allied army,

It might be expected, that men prepared to defend every thing moſt dear to them, ſhould have preſerved in the field perfect agreement and unanimity; eſpecially as the Greeks, on ſome occaſions at leaſt, ſeemed ſenſible that mutual union was neceſſary for the general ſafety. When the allies

[32] Herodot. l. ix. c. ccxxiv.

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on both ſides the iſthmus had aſſembled in Attica, they vowed with common conſent to the gods, and bound themſelves by the moſt tremendous oaths, to maintain with ſtedfaſt adherence an unſhaken fidelity to Greece, to prefer liberty to life, to obey the command of their leaders, and to bury their companions ſlain in battle. Should fortune render them victorious (which to their preſent ardour ſeemed ſcarcely a matter of doubt), they ſwore never to demoliſh any city whoſe inhabitants had concurred with the general voice on this important occaſion, and never to rebuild the temples defaced by the Barbarians, but to leave them to the moſt diſtant poſterity, as a monument of ſacrilegious rage, and an incitement to honourable revenge. They ſwore alſo to inſtitute an annual feſtival, denominated the Common Liberty [33], and to conſecrate public games and ſacrifices to the goddeſs, the great author of their union, and the venerable object of their worſhip. But theſe public-ſpirited ſentiments continued not long to actuate them. We have already had occaſion to remark ſeveral ſymptoms of approaching animoſity. Their diſſenſions ſoon broke out into an open rupture, and prevailed, even on the eve of a battle, not only between rival republics, but in the boſom of almoſt every community.

between the Athenians and Tegeans.

The firſt conteſt aroſe between the Athenians and Tegeans, about the command of the left wing. Both parties yielded the right, as the place of

[33] Herodot. l. ix. c. viii. & ſeqq.

greateſt

greateſt honour, to the Spartans. But the citizens of Tegea, in number three thouſand, had been long deemed the beſt ſoldiers in Arcadia; and in all the conjunct expeditions of the Peloponneſians, they had always obtained, unrivalled, the ſecond honours of the field. Theſe they profeſſed themſelves unwilling to relinquiſh, alleging the heroic exploits of their ancient kings; and aſſerting, "That the actions of the Athenians, performed either during their royal or democratical government, could not bear a compariſon with their own: they appealed on this ſubject to the Lacedæmonians, in conjunction with whom they had often fought and conquered, and whoſe deciſion in their favour they rather claimed than requeſted." This bold pretenſion the Athenians eaſily repelled, by the luſtre of their uſual eloquence. "We know," ſaid they, "that the Greeks are here aſſembled, not to diſpute about precedency, but to fight the Barbarian. Yet, as the Tegeans have mentioned *their* anceſtors, it becomes us to maintain the immortal renown of our own. Need we mention their ancient victories over the impious Thebans; their chaſtiſement of the inſolent Euryſtheus; their generous protection of the unfortunate ſons of Hercules? When Greece was invaded by the warlike Amazons, and afterwards by the fiercer ſavages of Scythia and Thrace, the Athenians reſiſted and overcame the common enemy. What people fought with more bravery than they in the war of Troy? But perhaps *we*, who now addreſs you, have degenerated from the glory of our anceſtors. Let the battle of

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Marathon efface the foul ſuſpicion. There, unaided and alone, we defended the general ſafety, maintained the glory of Greece, and raiſed, by the proweſs of our ſingle republic, a trophy over forty nations. This exploit, had we no other to allege, entitles us to the rank claimed by the Tegeans, and to far higher honours. But the preſent is not a time for ſuch conteſts; place us therefore, O Spartans! in whatever ſtation you think fit; there, we will behave like brave men." Their words were ſcarcely ended, when the whole army of the Lacedæmonians cried out with one conſent, "That the Athenians were far more worthy than the Tegeans, or any nation of Arcadia, to ſtand at the head of the left wing;" and accordingly they aſſumed that important poſt[34].

The Perſians encamp near the enemy.

Meantime the Barbarian army approached. The Medes and Perſians encamped on the plain, fronting the Spartans: the Grecian auxiliaries were placed in direct oppoſition to the Athenians. It is eaſy to perceive, even at this diſtance of time, the reaſon of ſuch an arrangement. The Perſians avoided to encounter the Athenian bravery, which they had already fatally experienced in the field of Marathon; and as the Thebans were the moſt powerful and the warmeſt of their foreign allies, as well as the inveterate enemies of Athens, it was thought proper to oppoſe them to that ſide on which the Athenians were poſted. Ambiguous oracles, attended by unfavourable omens and pro-

[34] Herodot. l. ix. c. xxvi. & ſeqq. Plut. in Ariſtid.

phecies,

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ſpecies, had hitherto deterred Mardonius from venturing a general engagement; and he was at length determined to this meaſure, not from any auſpicious [35] change in the admonitions of heaven, but from the apparent timidity occaſioned by the real diſſenſions of the Greeks.

The Greeks decamp a ſecond time.

The ſame reaſons which made Mardonius deſire to preſerve, made Pauſanias wiſh to alter, the relative diſpoſition of their reſpective camps. Excepting in the glorious conteſt at Thermopylæ, in which they devoted themſelves to death for the ſafety of their country, the Spartans had never contended with the Medes; but they had often fought and conquered the Bœotians. Pauſanias therefore deſired (for, though dignified with the title of General, he could not command) the Athenians to change places with his countrymen. This requeſt was cheerfully complied with; but other circumſtances ſowed diſſenſion in the Athenian camp [36]. The quiet likewiſe of the Lacedæmonians was diſturbed by the quarrels between Pauſanias and Anompharetus, the Spartan next in command; and conſpiring with theſe internal animoſities, the Perſian horſe beat up their quarters, intercepted their convoys, and, by an unexpected incurſion, deſtroyed their watering-place. It thus became

35 The prophets conſulted were Greeks, who perhaps ſecretly ſerved the cauſe of their country. Mardonius reſolved to engage the enemy, as we learn from Herodotus, without regarding their predictions. Alexander of Macedon came in the night to the Grecian camp, to give intimation of that reſolution; yet Mardonius ſeems to have been immediately determined to attack, by the circumſtances mentioned in the text.

36 Plutarch in Ariſtid.

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neceſſary again to decamp. The obſcurity of midnight was choſen as the moſt convenient time for effecting this purpoſe; and the deſtined place of retreat was a narrow ſlip of ground lying towards the ſource of the Æſopus, and confined between that river and mount Citheron. This poſt was at leaſt preferred by the majority; for the Greeks were by no means unanimous; ſo that when the march was ordered, many of the allies abandoned their leaders; others took refuge in the neighbouring temples, to elude the purſuit of the horſe; while Anompharetus the Spartan declared, "That neither he, nor the diviſion under his command, ſhould ever fly from the enemy:" and in conſequence of its diſperſion in ſo many different directions, the Grecian army preſented next morning the appearance, not of a regular march, but of a flight or rout.

Mardonius attacks them.

Mardonius was appriſed that the Greeks had changed their order of battle. He was now informed, that they had abandoned their camp. Not doubting that fear had precipitated their retreat, he ordered his ſoldiers to purſue the fugitives, and to complete the victory. The Lacedæmonians and Athenians were ſtill within his reach; the former near the foot of the mountain, the latter in the middle of the plain. Having ſent his Grecian auxiliaries, amounting to fifty thouſand, againſt the Athenians, he advanced with the braveſt of the Perſian troops againſt that portion of the enemy which had ſhewn an anxious ſolicitude to avoid his arms. Never did the contraſt appear greater, than

in

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in the oppoſite appearance and behaviour of the hoſtile armies on this occaſion. The Barbarians, ill armed, and totally ignorant of diſcipline, advanced without order, and with a loud inſulting noiſe. The Lacedæmonians, carefully covered with their ſhields, obſerved in ſilence the reſult of their ſacrifices. While the heavenly admonitions were unfavourable, they patiently received the darts and javelins which the enemy threw upon them. But as ſoon as Pauſanias, caſting his eyes towards a neighbouring temple of Juno, and devoutly entreating the protection of the goddeſs, had obtained, in the changing aſpect of the victims, a propitious anſwer to his prayer, they proceeded with intrepidity to cloſe with their opponents [37]. The Perſians, reinforced with the Sacæ, a Scythian tribe, ſuſtained the attack with great bravery. Immenſe numbers were ſlain; but new numbers ſucceeded, crowding together in tumultuous diſorder, and making an hideous outcry, as if they had intended to tear in pieces and to devour the enemy. Mardonius, mounted on a white ſteed of uncommon ſtrength and ſwiftneſs, was diſtinguiſhed in every part of the battle by the ſplendour of his appearance, but ſtill more by deeds of ſignal valour. He was attended by a thouſand horſemen, conſiſting of the flower of the Perſian nobility, all alike ambitious to imitate the example, and to emulate the fame, of their leader. Had their ſkill been equal to their courage, or had they previouſly

The battle of Plataea.

37 Herodot. l. ix. c. lxii. & ſeqq.

beſtowed

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beſtowed as much pains in diſciplining their troops, as in improving their own agility and addreſs, either the Greeks muſt have been conquered, or the battle muſt have remained doubtful. But the Barbarians acted without union or concert; and as they fought ſingly, were ſucceſſively defeated. It is the nature, and the greateſt diſadvantage of cavalry, not to increaſe in force in proportion to the reduplication of their ranks. The Grecian phalanx, on the other hand, received an acceſſion of ſtrength from every addition to its depth; the ranks behind ſupported thoſe before; no power was miſſpent or unexerted; and the effect might be continually augmented, till it became irreſiſtible. Availing themſelves of this circumſtance, the Lacedæmonians thickened their ranks, extended their ſpears, ſuſtained the ſhock, and penetrated the depth, of the braveſt Perſian ſquadron. Mardonius fell by the fortunate arm of the Spartan Aieimneſtus[38]. The death of the general was immediately followed by the defeat of the Perſians, and the defeat of the Perſians by the flight of the Barbarian army. Artabazus, the Parthian chief, had from the beginning condemned the raſh meaſures of Mardonius. He commanded forty thouſand men, who were prepared on every occaſion to follow the example of their leader. As ſoon as he

Death of Mardonius, and defeat of the Barbarians.

[38] Compoſed of two Greek words, which may be tranſlated "of immortal memory:" an inſtance, among many, that the Greeks frequently gave names characteriſtic of perſons; a cuſtom which likewiſe prevailed much among the Jews. See Michaelis's Tranſlation and Annotations on Geneſis, p. 37. & paſſim.

per-

perceived the confuſion of the Perſians, he made the ſignal for his troops to quit the field. He conducted them through the territory of the Phocians, and arriving by haſty marches at the Helleſpont, before the news of the defeat and death of Mardonius, returned in ſafety to the Aſiatic coaſt, with the forces entruſted to his care[39].

Defeat of their auxiliaries.

The remainder of the diſcomfited Barbarians ſought refuge in their camp, which, as we have already mentioned, had been ſtrengthened by a conſiderable fortification. The Spartans purſued them with great ardour, but were unable to force their encampment. The Tegeans and other troops ſeconded the attack, but no impreſſion could be made on the wall, till the arrival of the Athenians. Theſe generous defenders of the cauſe of liberty had repulſed the Grecian auxiliaries, who impiouſly aſſiſted the enemies of their country. The behaviour of the greater part of the traitors furniſhed the occaſion of an eaſy victory; for, unable to meet the juſt reproaches and indignant looks of their countrymen, they ſoon betook themſelves to flight, which, in the preſent caſe, ſeemed more honourable than reſiſtance. The Thebans alone oppoſed with great perſeverance the Athenian valour; they did not deſiſt from hoſtility, till ſeveral hundreds were ſlain; and when compelled to quit the field, they fled towards Bœotia, and ſhut themſelves up within the ſtrong walls of their city. Inſtead of purſuing theſe fugitives, though their

39 Herodot. l. ix. c. lxv.

domeſtic

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domeſtic and inveterate foes, the Athenians, with a laudable moderation and prudence, probably inſpired by Ariſtidēs, then one of their generals, directed their march towards the Lacedæmonian forces, which had already engaged and put to flight the main ſtrength of the enemy. The Athenians, however, came in time to complete the glory of that memorable day. They attacked with redoubled vigour the fortification, which had been in vain aſſailed by their allies; and having effected a breach in the wall, entered the Perſian camp. They were followed by the brave ſoldiers of Tegea, and afterwards by the Spartans. The Barbarians were ſeized with conſternation at ſeeing ſo many myriads confined within a narrow ſpace. The means of their expected ſafety became the principal cauſe of their deſtruction. Fear hindered them to fight; the wall hindered them to fly; the great number of the enemy made it dangerous for the victors to give quarter; reſentment of paſt injuries prompted them to revenge; of near two hundred thouſand Barbarians, not two thouſand eſcaped the fury of the Grecian ſpear [40].

The Perſians maſſacred in their camp.

The valuable booty found there.

The event of this bloody engagement not only delivered the Greeks from the danger of ſervitude, but gave them poſſeſſion of greater wealth than they could ever have expected to poſſeſs. In his precipitate retreat from Greece, Xerxes left behind him all his riches and magnificence. His moſt valuable effects were beſtowed on Mardonius, the

[40] Herodot. l. ix. cap. c.

flatterer

flatterer of his inclinations, and the unfortunate miniſter of his revenge. The reſt was divided among his inferior favourites; and independent of the bounty of the prince, the tents of the Perſian nobles furniſhed a wide profuſion of elegance and ſplendour. Couches magnificently embroidered; tables of gold and ſilver; bowls and goblets of gold; ſtalls and mangers of braſs, curiouſly wrought and ornamented; chains, bracelets, ſcymitars, ſome of ſolid gold, others adorned with precious ſtones; and, to crown all, many cheſts of Perſian money, which began at that time, and continued long afterwards, to be current in Greece. Among the common maſs of ſpoil, Herodotus reckons a great many Perſian women, beſides innumerable horſes and camels. The whole being collected into one place, the tenth was conſecrated to the gods. A tenth of the remainder was beſtowed on the general. Peculiar preſents were offered to the temples of Olympian Jove, Iſthmian Neptune, and Delphian Apollo, the favourite divinities of the whole Grecian name; nor did the Athenians forget to ſhew particular gratitude to their adored Minerva. Prizes were afterwards diſtributed among the braveſt of the ſurviving warriors; for though the victory had been obtained with little blood, yet ſeveral hundreds had fallen, eſpecially of the moſt generous and daring; among whom were ninety-one Spartans, fifty-two Athenians, and ſixteen men of Tegea. Callicrattides, a Spartan, the braveſt and moſt beautiful of the Greeks, was ſlain by an arrow, before Pauſanias, who had not

How applied.

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not yet finiſhed the ſacrifice, had given the ſignal of engagement. As he fell, he ſaid to thoſe around him, that he was contented to die for Greece, but regretted dying inglorioufly, having performed nothing worthy of himſelf, or the common cauſe. But in the battle itſelf none of the warriors behaved with ſuch diſtinguiſhed bravery as Ariſtodemus, who alone of three hundred Spartans, ſurvived the action at Thermopylæ. This circumſtance had rendered him contemptible in the eyes of his countrymen. He was continually upbraided with the baſe deſertion of his companions. The moſt heroic deeds could not reſtore him to the good opinion of the public; and it was aſſerted by the Spartans, that even on the preſent occaſion, as he had determined to ſeek a voluntary death in order to efface the ſtain of his former infamy, he was not entitled to any of thoſe honours which are deſervedly beſtowed on the genuine efforts of ſpontaneous valour [41].

The confederate Greeks chaſtiſe the perfidy of the Thebans.

The Greeks buried their dead with every circumſtance of funeral pomp, erected in the field of battle conſpicuous trophies of their renown, and appropriated about twenty thouſand pounds for dedicating temples and ſtatues to the tutelary deities of Platæa, the illuſtrious ſcene of victory. A few days were ſpent in theſe tranſactions; after which it was determined, by univerſal conſent, to march into Bœotia, in order to chaſtiſe the perfidy of the Thebans. On the eleventh day after the

[41] Herodot. l. ix. c. lxx.

battle

battle they arrived in the neighbourhood of Thebes, ravaged the territory, and made approaches to the walls. The citizens, who were not all equally guilty or equally obnoxious, eſcaped general deſtruction by ſurrendering the leaders of the faction which abetted the intereſt of the Medes. The traitors were carried to Corinth, condemned without trial, and ſacrificed to the manes of their countrymen who had fallen at Marathon, Salamis, and Platæa, in defence of political liberty and national independence [42].

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The battle of Platæa was fought the twenty-ſecond of September; and on the ſame day another battle, not leſs glorious or leſs deciſive, was fought between the ſame nations at the promontory of Mycalé in Ionia, oppoſite to the iſle of Samos. The ſhattered remnant of the Perſian fleet, which had eſcaped deſtruction on the fatal twentieth of October of the preceding year, took refuge in the friendly ports of Aſia Minor. The victorious armament had ſuffered too much in repeated ſhocks with a ſuperior force, to engage at that late ſeaſon in the purſuit of an enemy, whoſe ſtrength, amounting to above four hundred veſſels, was ſtill nearly the double of their own. The little ſquadron of Themiſtocles, averſe to inactivity, found occupation, as we already had occaſion to notice, in laying the iſlands of the Ægean under contribution. The great body of the fleet rendezvouſed in the harbours of Ægina. There the Grecians continued during the winter, and before the ſeaſon for action approached,

Battle of Mycalé in Ionia.

[42] Herodot. l. ix. c. lxxxv.

the

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the command was beſtowed on Xantippus the Athenian, and on Leotychides the Spartan king. To theſe commanders, whoſe abilities and influence in their reſpective republics we formerly had an opportunity to menntion, there arrived early in the ſpring a ſecret deputation from ſeveral cities of Ionia, intreating that the valour of the European Greeks, which had been ſo ſucceſsfully employed in their own defence, might be ſtill farther exerted in delivering from bondage their brethren in Aſia. In conſequence of this invitation, the fleet ſailed eaſtward, and had ſcarcely reached the coaſt of Delos, when a ſecond embaſſy came from the Samians, propoſing the ſame meaſures as the firſt, and farther adding, that the Perſian fleet, now lying in the harbour of Samos, might be attacked and defeated without danger or difficulty. The Grecians ſeized with eagerneſs the favourable opportunity of terminating the war; but before they arrived at Samos, the enemy ſuſpecting their motions, and unwilling to hazard another engagement at ſea, had retired to the Ionic coaſt, and according to the cuſtom of that age, not only drawn their ſhips on ſhore, but ſurrounded them with a ditch and paliſade, and even a ſtone wall of conſiderable ſtrength. The veſſels thus ſecured, the ſailors amounting to forty thouſand, commanded by Artayndes, formed a camp along the ſhore. They were reinforced by the Perſian army under Tigranes, computed at ſixty thouſand. It appears not whether this powerful body of men made any attempt to diſturb the landing of the Greeks, who at the higheſt computation

tation could not amount to a fourth part of their number. It ſeems moſt probable that they diſdained this meaſure, and though they acknowledged their inferiority at ſea, determined to hazard at land a general engagement, in which the iſles and Helleſpont, as well as the flouriſhing cities of the Aſiatic coaſt, ſhould form the important prize of victory.

The Greeks victorious.

The Greeks did not decline the battle. Xantippus is ſaid to have made uſe of a ſimilar contrivance with that employed by Themiſtocles at Artemiſium, for depriving the enemy of their Grecian auxiliaries[43]. A more probable ſtratagem is aſcribed to Leotychides, who, in order to encourage his troops, is ſaid to have induſtriouſly ſpread a report that their countrymen had obtained a ſignal victory at Platæa. This report, by whatever means[44] it was raiſed and circulated, had doubtleſs a conſiderable effect in deciding the fortune of the day. Other circumſtances, not leſs powerful, were, the general revolt of the Aſiatic Greeks, and the ſilent conteſt of honour between the Spartans and Athenians. Among the Barbarian troops the Perſians behaved with uncommon bravery; and on the ſide of the Grecians,

43 The ſtory is improbable, becauſe the Aſiatic Greeks had already declared their intention to revolt. It was not the intereſt of Xantippus, therefore, to make the Perſians ſuſpect their fidelity, ſince treacherous friends are always more dangerous than open enemies.

44 Herodotus (l. ix. c. c.) and Diodorus (l. xi. c. xxxv.) differ in their accounts.

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the battle of Mycalé was more bloody than any other fought in the courſe of the war. It deſerves attention, that in all theſe memorable actions, the Greeks had no reſource but in victory. But the Barbarians had provided probable means of ſafety, even in caſe of a defeat. On the preſent occaſion they had endeavoured not only to ſecure a retreat within a ſtrongly fortified camp, but to acquire an undiſturbed paſſage through the narrow defiles of Mycalé. Yet all their precautions were ineffectual againſt the valour and fortune of the Greeks. The Mileſians, poſted by the enemy to guard the paſſes of the mountain, prevented, inſtead of promoting, their eſcape. The Spartans purſued them with great ſlaughter in that direction; while the Athenians, aſſiſted by the allies of Corinth, Sicyon, and Træzené, advanced with undaunted bravery to attack their camp. The Aſiatic Greeks, who at all times acknowledged the warlike pre-eminence of their European brethren, emulated, in the preſent engagement alone, in which they fought for every thing dear to them, the admired valour of their anceſtors. Above forty thouſand Perſians periſhed in the field; many fell in the purſuit, or in defending their entrenchments: the remainder fled in diſorder, nor thought themſelves ſecure till they had reached the walls of Sardis. Their ſhips, their camp, the freedom of Ionia, and the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of the Aſiatic coaſt, formed the ineſtimable prize of the

Concluſion and conſequences of the Perſian invaſion.

the victors; and thus the expedition of Xerxes, undertaken with a view to enſlave Europe, reſtored liberty to the faireſt portion of Aſia[45] CHAP. X.

[45] Herodot. l. ix. c. xc.—c. cxiv. Diodorus Siculus, l. xi. c. xxxiv.—c. xxxviii.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

ERRATA.

Page [illegible], line 2, Note, *for* παων, *read* λαων.
70, —— 3, Note, *for* moveable, *read* immoveable
269, —— 2, Note, *for* φησ, *read* φησι.

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